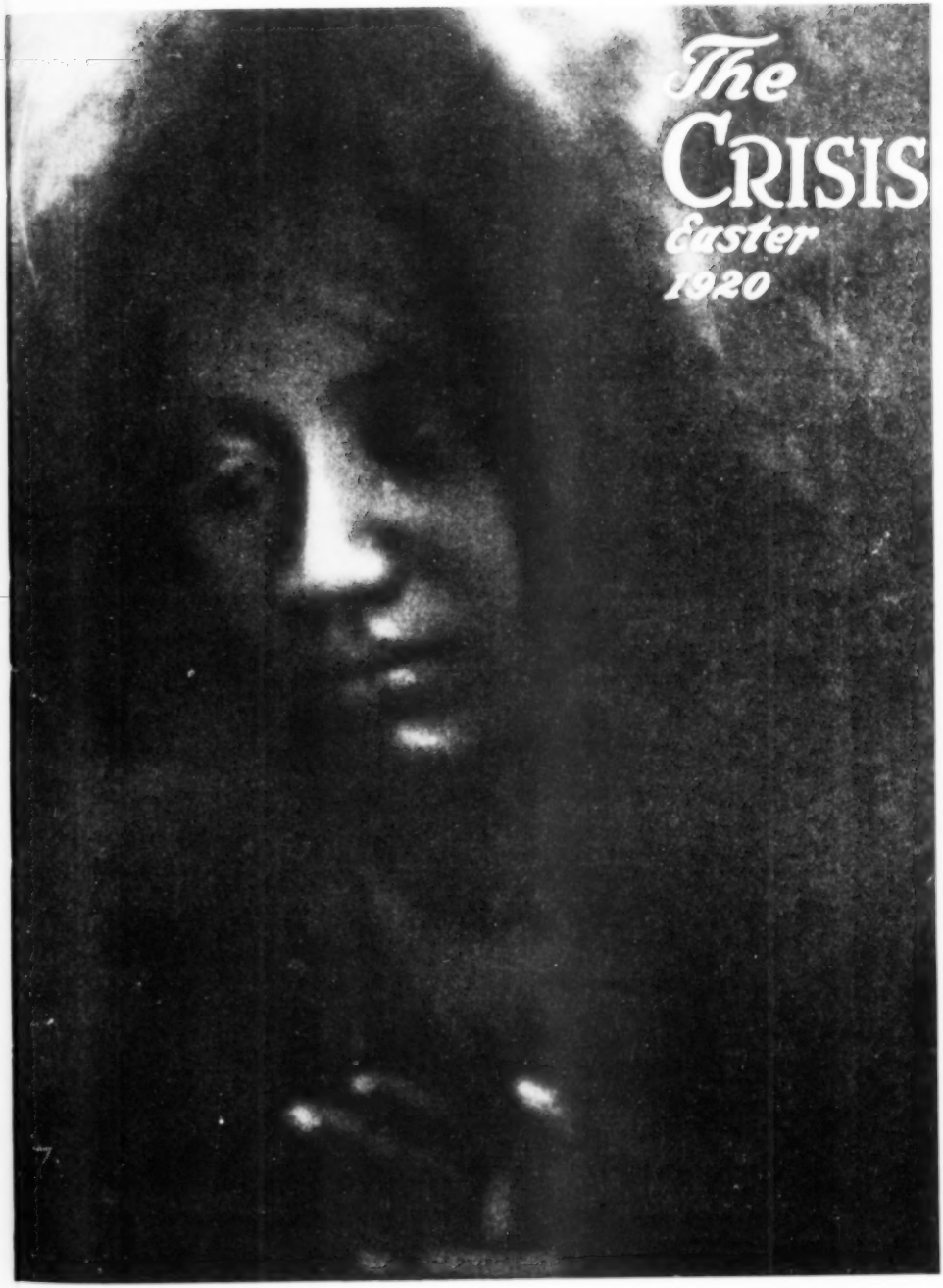

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SIXTY-FOUR PAGES AND COVER.

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 19. No. 6 APRIL, 1920 Whole No. 114

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

EVERY FOUR YEARS

EVERY four years the disgrace of the buying up of certain delegates for the Republican convention is repeated in the Southern South. In South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, there are a few professional grafters, black and white, who assume to represent the "Republican Party." They are for sale to the highest bidder. Republican candidates begin their campaign by sending men into the South to buy the support of these men, and the whole Negro race is blamed for this recurring disgrace. But whose is the fault? The fault lies at the doors of the National Republican Party. Not only is the party and its candidates willing and eager to buy up this support, but they have repeatedly refused support or countenance to the better class of colored leaders, who seek to oust these thieves. They give recognition and offices to the "Lily Whites" wherever possible, thus carrying out a policy, begun by Theodore Roosevelt and brought to its highest fruition by William H. Taft.

Only yesterday in Tennessee, where a real Republican movement with high aims and efficient leadership has been led in the western part of the state by R. R. Church, a Republican convention composed only of white men calmly ousted every black Republican. And it stands every chance of being given recognition by the National Republican Committee, which refused to seat Perry Howard of Mississippi, who was legally elected and in the face of right and justice, put a white man in his place. So that the Republican Party has practically said to the South,—No decent colored man need apply and we will recognize anything, decent or indecent, among white politicians.

To cap all this, the party refuses to take a single step toward enforcing the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, or to stop the disgraceful disfranchisement of colored voters.

REMEMBER

THE foundations of the present political South are built upon sand. It requires only a resolute executive in the White House and a free House of Representatives; then when the Representatives from the Southern South knock at the door, the House of Representatives has simply to say—Who votes in Mississippi, in South Carolina, in Alabama?—and to declare that upon such a basis of franchise, the so-called members of Congress have not been legally elected.

This is all. The deed is done. And the Negro is a free man.

Nor is the possibility of this so far away. A little more southern arrogance in Washington, a little more greed in the expenditure of public funds, such as occurred during the war; a little larger assumption that the South owns the United States, and the nation may awake to real Democracy.

Or, again,—suppose the "dirty foreigners" and the disfranchised Socialists and the disfranchised blacks should get together and vote together at the next election!

HAITI

THE United States is at war with Haiti. Congress has never sanctioned this war. Josephus Daniels has illegally and unjustly occupied a free foreign

land and murdered its inhabitants by the thousands. He has deposed its officials and dispersed its legally elected representatives. He is carrying on a reign of terror, brow-beating, and cruelty, at the hands of southern white naval officers and marines. For more than a year this red-handed deviltry has proceeded, and today the Island is in open rebellion. The greatest single question before the parties at the next election is the Freedom of Haiti.

HYDE PARK

A CROWD of white profiteers in the Hyde Park division of the city of Chicago publish a *Property Owners' Journal* and are moving heaven and earth to get Negroes voluntarily to segregate themselves. They have even had the impudence to quote THE CRISIS in their own defense, when we asserted "the right of any individual of any race or color to choose his own marital mate, his own friend, and his own dinner companion,—in fine, to be the master of his home". What these real estate agents want is not only to be masters of their own homes, but also of ours. They may buy property where they please, but we must not buy where we please. They claim the right not only to occupy their own houses, but to determine who shall live next door. We hope that the Chicago Negroes will buy just as much property in Hyde Park as they can pay for, and proceed to live therein.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

HOW high shall we value human life?

In Massachusetts, in 1775, eight men were killed in the first battle of Lexington. Was it worth while? The shot "was heard 'round the world!"

In Kentucky, in 1920, five men were killed in the second battle of Lexington. Was it worth while?

Already lynch law has cost America 3,000 lives, and mob law has taken ten times as many. If further bloody toll can be saved by five deaths, we have gotten off far more cheaply than we deserve.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

THOSE who believe in World Peace and oppose Militarism, owe a debt to the American Negro: because southern Democrats feared the Negro in arms, they rebuked their own President and voted down universal military service.

Selah!

TO GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

Sir:

WE Negroes have noticed that large numbers of Congressmen and many other persons would like to see you President of the United States. We black folk, despite the fact that three-fourths of us are illegally disfranchised and misrepresented by our enemies in Congress, nevertheless will probably cast a million votes in 1920.

In order, then, that we may vote intelligently in both the primary and final elections, may we ask you two questions:

1. Why did you, in 1917, refuse to admit Negro candidates to the Plattsburg Officers' Training Camp?

2. In 1919, while in conversation with the editor of the Des Moines *Register*, you are reported to have declared that you were utterly opposed to having Negro officers over Negro troops. Is this true?

I trust we may have, at your convenience, answers to these inquiries.

Very respectfully,
THE CRISIS.

NEGRO WRITERS

SINCE its founding, THE CRISIS has been eager to discover ability among Negroes, especially in literature and art. It remembers with no little pride its covers by Richard Brown, William Scott, William Farrow, and Laura Wheeler; and its cartoons by Lorenzo Harris and Albert Smith; it helped to discover the poetry of Roscoe Jamison, Georgia Johnson, Fenton Johnson, Lucian Watkins, and Otto

Bohanan; and the prose of Jessie Fauset and Mary Effie Lee. Indeed, THE CRISIS has always preferred the strong matter of unknown names, to the platitudes of well-known writers; and by its Education and Children numbers, it has shown faith in the young.

One colored writer, Claude McKay, asserts that we rejected one of his poems and then quoted it from Pearson's; and intimates that colored editors, in general, defer to white editors' opinions. This is, of course, arrogant nonsense. But it does call our attention to the need of encouraging Negro writers. We have today all too few, for the reason that there is small market for their ideas among whites, and their energies are being called to other and more lucrative ways of earning a living. Nevertheless, we have literary ability and the race needs it. A renaissance of American Negro literature is due; the material about us in the strange, heart-rending race tangle is rich beyond dream and only we can tell the tale and sing the song from the heart.

From the beginning, the editor has read with care every manuscript sent us, which explains the unconscionable delay in returning many; and yet for three years the editor was editor, business manager, and chief clerk, and only this last year has THE CRISIS been able to hire an editorial staff even approximately adequate to the work.

SOUTHERN REPRESENTATIVES

THE conditions under which a person is allowed to vote under our government, is left in the hands of the states, with only two limitations:

First.—No person can be deprived of a vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude" (Fifteenth Amendment).

Second.—If the state limits the right to vote for any other reasons, Congress has the right proportionately to reduce its representation (Fourteenth Amendment).

In the North the right to vote is restricted slightly by educational qualifications; in the South the right to vote is so restricted by educational, property, military, industrial, and administrative qualifications, that the majority of voters are disqualified. The United States has a right to reduce representation in Congress. The Republican majority is in honor bound to do this. The Negro race should demand such reduction. The reduction would not make the North lose a single Congressman, but it would sweep out of the National House forty-two Negro baiters from the South, who are upholding lynching and voting "Jim-Crow" legislation and depriving Negroes of education.

The South may pretend that it would assent to this, rather than let Negroes vote. This is a falsehood. Restrictions on the black vote would disappear in a day. But even if it were true, the Negro would be infinitely better off: he would retain his legal right to vote in the South and his actual vote in the North and in the Border States, while his enemies would be kicked out of Congress. Why hesitate? The demand on the Republicans should be unanimous.

SOLDIERS' INSURANCE

LIFE insurance is a necessity for a civilized man. The life insurance furnished by the United States Government to its soldiers is the cheapest and best insurance obtainable. There is no color discrimination.

Every Negro soldier ought to make every possible sacrifice to maintain this insurance. The government offers the most advantageous terms to delinquents and furnishes options and information.

Despite these facts, large numbers of ex-service men are letting their policies lapse and the race is thus losing vast sums of money.

If the men themselves do not see the value of this insurance, clubs, churches and organizations might combine to keep up the policies. Institutions might be endowed in this way and worthy objects helped.

If any one knows of any ex-soldier who has not kept up his life insurance, he should write immediately to J. Williams Clifford, War Risk Bureau, Washington, D. C.

THE CHARGE FOR "WRITE UPS"

THE CRISIS is continually embarrassed by requests from persons who either send money or ask our "charge" for publishing a picture and biography.

THE CRISIS regards this as a serious ethical question. There is a widespread custom on the part of some periodicals of accepting payment for articles and especially for personal notices and pictures to be published in their news columns.

This is from every point of view a pernicious and dishonest practice. The reader of a periodical has the right to assume that news is printed because of its importance and that people are mentioned favorably because of their desert. If only that news is published which is paid for, or if our "Men of the Month" are to be selected from those offering the most cash, then we are headed straight to the catastrophe of a venal, purchasable press.

The best papers today refuse absolutely this form of bribery. But the public does not yet understand this, and it is necessary especially for the Negro press to emphasize these principles:

1. It is wrong for a periodical to print matter for which it is paid, except in the plainly indicated advertising sections.

2. It is wrong for a periodical to receive money as a gift for matter which it has already printed, except as advertisements.

3. It is wrong for a periodical to accept payment in advance for copies, on condition that certain contributed matter will appear.

These are the principles of THE CRISIS, and any money sent us in contravention of these principles will be promptly returned.

The matter which we print may not be the best and our judgment of men and measures may often be faulty, but the reader can at least know that no money consideration has influenced us.

AN APPEAL

To Missionary Boards, and all other Friends of Negro Education:

THE Association of Colleges for Negro Youth, consisting of eleven institutions, (Howard University, Wilberforce University, Fisk University, Virginia Union University, Atlanta University, Morehouse College, Knoxville College, Talladega College, Shaw University, Benedict College, and Bishop College), through its appointed representatives, asks leave to bring to your attention the status of the teacher in these and similar institutions.

We are not unmindful of the difficulties that must be met by those who bear the ultimate burden of the maintenance of these schools. No one appreciates more than our teachers the fact that sacrifices have to be made from time to time, and that in the Christian service which they attempt to render, there is a compensation wholly beyond all monetary consideration. We do not feel, however, that it is intended that the scale of living shall be reduced to such a point as to make the worker physically inefficient or call in question his self-respect.

Within the last five years, not only salaries, but the number of workers in these schools has remained largely stationary, and this in spite of such an increase in the number of students as has taxed every institution to its fullest capacity. Where there was one teacher to fifteen students, there is now a ratio of one to thirty. Obviously, the responsibility of the teacher has been doubled. Nevertheless, for the most part, the missionary colleges in the South still attempt to abide by the salary scale that obtained twenty

years ago, and this in the face of the fact that instructors are expected to have good college training and to be ambitious to continue their studies in every way possible. Only the man of highly exceptional qualifications stands any chance in most of the colleges, of beginning at a salary of more than $800 or of rising above $1,200. Salaries of $500 to $700 are still frequent. We do not need to remind you of the increase in the cost of living within the last five years. Practically every essential article that enters into the cost of maintaining a family, —food, clothing, and all household supplies,—has increased from 100 to 300%, so that the purchasing power of a dollar is barely one-third, and in no case more than one-half of its former value. It is obvious that economic conditions have brought about a corresponding reduction in salaries, so that the teacher who is now receiving $600 to $900 is in reality getting an equivalent of less than half that amount, on the basis of his former income.

It is evident that if the present wage scale continues, most of the workers will be forced to seek outlets in other fields. It is wholly impossible for the average missionary teacher to go away for summer study; the average single man does not receive a salary that would justify marriage and the support of a family; and it is quite impossible for a teacher who has children to give them sufficient nourishing food, to decently clothe them, and provide for their education.

We submit these facts only for what they are worth, asking that something be done very soon to improve a desperate situation. Meanwhile, we shall continue to render the best service in our power to the young men and women who have been committed to our care.

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY, Chairman,
Dean of Morehouse College.

OF GIVING WORK

"WE give you people work and if we didn't, how would you live?"

The speaker was a southern white man. He was of the genus called "good". He had come down from the Big House to advise these Negroes, in the forlorn little church which crouched on the creek. He didn't come to learn, but to teach. The result was that he did not learn, and he saw only that blank, impervious gaze which colored people know how to assume; and that dark wall of absolute silence which they have a habit of putting up instead of applause. He felt awkward, but he repeated what he had said, because he could not think of anything else to say:

"We give you people work, and if we didn't, how would you live?"

And then the old and rather ragged black man arose in the back of the church and came slowly forward and as he came, he said:

"And we gives you homes; and we gives you cotton; and we makes your land worth money; and we waits on you and gets your meals and cleans up your dirt. And if we didn't do all those things for you, how would you live?"

The white man choked and got red, but the old black man went on talking:

"And what's more: we gives you a heap more than you gives us and we's getting mighty tired of the bargain—"

"I think we ought to give you fair wages," stammered the white man.

"And that ain't all," continued the old black man, "we ought to have something to say about your wages. Because if what *you* gives us gives *you* a right to say what we ought to get, then what *we* gives you gives *us* a right to say what *you* ought to get; and we're going to take that right *some day*."

The white man blustered:

"That's Bolshevism!" he shouted.

And then church broke up.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

DOROTHY CANFIELD

I

I WOULD not have noticed her among the other uniformed American women on board the steamer, if it had not been for a troubled look of uneasiness in her honest eyes, which contrasted with the healthy, kind, fixed certainty of themselves and their standards shining out from the honest eyes of the other serious-faced American women who made up her "unit", just returning home for a well-earned rest after two years continuous service in war relief. Indeed, the difference between them was so great that once the cynic of our party, who had seen her staring darkly out to sea, said of her mockingly,

"There's one who looks as gloomy as though her shell had been penetrated by the awful thought that perhaps French amenities in everyday life and French daily pleasure in small pleasantnesses, may mean more civilization than bath-tubs and open plumbing."

But he was wrong, as usual. Something deeper, even more impersonal, was in question, as I learned later on in the voyage when I had come to know and greatly respect her. One evening, quite late, she stopped her restless pacing about the deck, and dropped into the chair beside me. I felt touched to sympathy by the long sigh she drew, and said, clumsily trying to invite a confidence which might perhaps relieve her, "You seem to be troubled about something. I'd be so glad if I could help." She turned her head towards me, quickly, and looked at me hard, shaking her head. "I don't see what anybody can do about it," she said. Then she added, unexpectedly, "What part of the States do you come from?"

"Vermont," I answered, not seeing why she should be interested in that.

She moved her head restlessly and said, "Oh, well, I suppose one American is very much like another. I know I am, and I'm from New Jersey!"

As I was silent, quite at sea, she went on, "I wonder if it would make things any clearer to me if I should just tell you all about it! Perhaps it would!"

Her voice was so sincerely troubled that I took her hand in mine, as assurance of my interest. She began her story.

II

And I now set it down here just as she told it to me, wishing to shift it to other American shoulders, as she shifted it to mine.

"I had been brought up," she began, "like all public school American children, to salute the flag every morning, to believe that America was the only country where Liberty prevailed, and to read in my little American history textbook, how our fathers had fought to found that new thing,—a country where all men are free.

"Up to the time (I was fourteen years old then) that I encountered Jefferson Heywood, I had no idea that there might be shadows in the bright day of American freedom. Of course, Jeff was not the first Negro I had ever seen. I had been brought up near a lot of them, had played with little colored children quite as much as with white. But the black flame in Jeff's bloodshot eyes was very different from the light-hearted, giggling fun of my little black play-fellows, or from the easy-going good humor of Uncle Harry, the bald-headed old Negro who used to come once a week to shake our rugs and do other things too heavy for the maid. And, especially, the bitter carelessness of Jeff's accent when he said, 'Yes, I've been off on a jag again', was very different from the humble and repeated, 'Yas'm', of Uncle Harry when my mother took him to task for being half-seas over.

"When I came to know him, Jefferson belonged to a very different world from the family-like atmosphere of the small town where I had spent my early childhood. He ran the elevator in the ramshackle old building in New York where one of my grown-up cousins had a studio, and although he had come originally from a small town in Virginia, with the same innocent rusticity as

my own small town, it was evident that in New York he had become an integral part of vicious, big-city life. He drank and gambled to everybody's certain knowledge.

"With his habits and his quite apparent hostility to white people, he would not have been kept a day in any other building than the battered, shabby rabbit-warren which sheltered so many impecunious artists. The owners of the building were only waiting for a sufficiently big rise in the price of land to tear down the dingy old place and put up an apartment house. Everybody who rented a studio there was told that he might be turned out at a day's notice, and all the service of the building was done in the same hand-to-mouth precarious method. Jeff always managed somehow to be able to run his elevator and the superintendent of the building, expecting to lose his own job from one day to the next, asked nothing more of the powerfully built, sullen Negro who looked so malevolently from under his black brows at the white people he took up and down in his creaking cage.

"I still remember the stories he used to tell me!"

"A child finds studio life very tiresome, especially if she has had a good deal of it, and I used, while waiting for my cousin to get ready to go home, to wander up and down the dirty, unswept corridors of the building and to stand at the windows, looking down idly on the noisy, futile bustle of the New York street, feeling dreadfully vacant-minded and bored, and longing for somebody to talk to. In course of time I drifted towards Jeff's cage, (I was still child enough to enjoy riding up and down in the elevator), and towards the casual acquaintance with him which gave me my first doubts of the golden perfection of American institutions.

"All Negroes know how to interest children, and Jeff shared his race's capacity to charm childhood. I still remember the stories he used to tell me of his fishing exploits in his Virginia village, of his happy boyhood with his widowed mother, of the way they celebrated Christmas in his town. Occasionally also he used to tell stories of his school, where he had learned to speak so correctly; of his grave, dignified, well-instructed school-teacher; and of the industrial school where later he went to learn the trade of carpenter. I remember (because it afterwards came back to me, vividly) his explanation about the old blind mare, Nancy, who came frequently into these reminiscences. I said one day, 'But, Jeff, how did it happen that you had a horse, all your own?'

"His eyes deepened. 'I was going by one day when the white man that owned her, was beating her up because she couldn't go straight. It made me kind of crazy to see. . . .' He paused, made a grimace, and passed over the details to the end of the story. 'I worked two summers for that white man, to buy her off'n him. She lived

seven years after that. Happy years, too. My mother liked her mighty well, too.' He added, on another note, 'They died the same winter.'

"I glimpsed vaguely through this dry outline of emotions deeper than the words showed, and was silent a moment. Jeff said presently, 'Colored folks have got a fellow-feeling for creatures that get jumped on and can't help it.' And as I found no comment to make on this, our interview of that day ended.

"This was the only reference he ever made to the deep grievance of his life, until one day, emboldened by much talk with him, I ventured, priggishly enough, to try to be a small mentor for him and made a childish and ill-advised effort to serve up to him, at second hand, some of the good counsels I had heard my mother give to Uncle Harry.

"The conversation which followed I have never forgotten. He said, listlessly, 'Why, Miss Ma'gret, I'm an American Negro. What else is there for me to do but to get drunk and gamble?'

"I was astonished beyond the extent of my capacity for astonishment, sincerely unable to make the faintest guess at the meaning of his words. 'Why, Jeff,' I said earnestly, with a simplicity I find now rather touching, 'if you didn't get drunk, you could get a better job and earn more money and save up and. . . .'

"'Well, what would I do with my money?' he asked me. 'What good would it do me? I'd be a Negro just the same, wouldn't I? I'd be punished and spit on, all the time, for being something I never asked or wanted to be, and that I'd stop being if I could.'

"Reminiscences of abolitionist ancestors stirred vaguely in my head, and with the proper canting accent, I pronounced the cant phrase, 'Well, I'm sure that is nothing to be ashamed of, or to regret.'

"'*Isn't it!*' he blazed out suddenly, and then in a voice which brought the words home to me, like a thunderclap, '*Would you just as soon be a Negro as white?*'

"He had so fiercely focussed on me in one burning flash the hidden flame of his heart that he succeeded for just an instant in forcing me to take in, actually and intimately, the meaning of his words. For just an instant I realized the meaning of the possibility that I might have been born black and not white . . . and I gave a vivid reflex gesture of physical recoil, which made Jeff laugh sardonically . . . although he had visibly winced.

"I was horrified at the confession he had startled out of me. I swallowed hard and tried to think of something defensive to say. Various smug reflections came to my mind and I brought out the one which seemed to me most unanswerable. 'Oh, Jeff, there are lots of nice things Negroes can do. Look at Peter Ruffner.' (He was the elevator man for the night shifts.) 'He's saving up his money and studying to pass the Civil Service examinations, and he's going to get a job in the Customs House and own a little home and he's bringing up his children so nicely and——'

"Jeff answered me, with a grunt of scorn, 'Yes, Pete's giving himself a lot of trouble, and what'll he get? No matter how much he succeeds, the poorest, little, low-down street-mick, if he's white, will look down on Pete . . . and *you know it*. And if Pete went home to Georgia, not if he had a million dollars, they wouldn't let him eat in the same restaurant with the most worthless white folks, nor pray to God in the same church. Not if he'd found out how to cure cancer, would he be allowed to vote like the white drunkards nor live on the same street. There isn't a white convict in a penitentiary who would change place with Pete, to have his freedom and his job and his savings-bank book and his home, if he had to get inside Pete's black skin to do it . . . and you know that, too. Don't you suppose *we* know the reason why nobody on earth would be willing to change places with an American Negro? Do you suppose I'd want to bring a child into this world to live through that—much as I'd like having a son!'

"I was shocked and silenced, more by the dreadful deep quiver of acrimony in his voice than by what he said. I shrank a little back, as though I saw heat-waves quivering over molten metal; and hung my head.

"Of course, like everyone else, I had been perfectly familiar with the daily unprovoked, personal indignities in the life of an American Negro, but I seemed never to have seen them before.

"Well, I have not forgotten them since.

"Somebody came in and asked to be taken up to the fifth floor. Jeff carried us both up, and me back again to the ground floor

before I could think of anything to say. Then I brought out miserably, only because I could not endure the silence, 'Well, they don't all feel like that. Look at Booker Washington. Seems to me you're unreasonable, Jeff.'

"'Does it?' he said indifferently, as though he cared very little about my opinion.

"There was another silence. Then he added, 'Well, maybe I wouldn't get so sore if it wasn't for all the Declaration-of-Independence-business and everybody-being-equal that white folks are always shooting off. I reckon it's that, that makes me take to drink.'

"I had no occasion to speak to Jeff for some time after that. In fact, he got so drunk for once, that he could not run his elevator, and was absent for many days. I thought about him a great deal, most uncomfortably, and during the morning exercises in my patriotic school, found the words sticking in my throat as I tried to pronounce in unison some of the accustomed phrases of satisfaction in belonging to the country of freedom. Yes, Jeff had cast a shadow which was not to lift.

"He was so long in coming back to his work that one day I asked the superintendent about him. He said impatiently that Jeff had been off on a terrible bat, but would be back soon. He went on, 'But you don't want to have anything to do with him. If I was your cousin, I wouldn't let you ride up and down in the elevator. He's just as bad a nigger as any I ever saw, and I've seen a-plenty. He's the kind that carries a razor in his hip pocket, and don't you forget it!'

"When Jeff came listlessly back to work, with the curious ashy color of a man who has been sick, I told him what the superintendent had said about his concealed weapon, half hoping to have the thrill of seeing him show it to me. He laughed scornfully, 'No, I don't carry a razor, but it's not because I'm not a bad nigger, all right. If I could kill what ails me with a razor, I wouldn't be long doing it. But suppose I cut Mr. Superintendent all to hash with a razor, would it keep me from being treated like a dog?' He laughed again, and said, 'No, my razor is a whiskey-bottle. That comes the nearest to killing what's the matter with me.'

"He looked so ill and wretched as he spoke, that he made me feel wretched, myself. It seemed to me, child as I was, that life was an infinitely more puzzling matter than I had dreamed it might be.

"At it happened, it was almost the last time I saw him there, for soon after, the old building really was torn down, as had been threatened so often, and all the inhabitants of the old rookery were dispersed to the four corners of the earth. But what could not be dispersed was the puzzled uncertainty which Jeff's talks had left in my mind."

She paused, and I murmured, helplessly in sympathy with her feeling, "Oh, yes, life is puzzling, horribly, distractingly puzzling."

III

She went on, "I was sent that next winter to a boarding school in France, and suffered acutely from the indoor confinement of this life, so that it was with a bird's joy in freedom that I found myself, the next summer, spending the vacation on the Breton seacoast, where I went to visit one of my schoolmates. She was as wild as I with physical exuberance long repressed, and we raced up and down the broad yellow beach and risked our necks on the rocky cliffs, every moment that the weather allowed us to be out of doors.

"It was only when one of the big tempests of the region kept everybody indoors, that we took cognizance of the dull adult life of the house and neighborhood. This was about the usual life in cosmopolitan seaside towns, full of vain idle women, sensual vacationing men and malicious gossip. The old aunt of Marcelle, my little school-friend, was an invalid who could not walk, but in the miraculous way of some shut-in-people she knew all the talk of the small, uncharitable settlement better than any one of us who ran about freely among the actors of the sordid little comedies and tragedies. She not only knew all that was happening that summer, but all that ever had happened, apparently, and she was fond of imparting her information. It was she, I remember, one stormy afternoon when Marcelle and I were kept indoors by the weather,—it was she who gave to a caller the story of our next-door neighbors, a strange combination of personalities which had vaguely aroused even my child's interest, naturally dull to the curious and inexplicable doings of grown-ups.

"The story was not at all meant for little

girls, nor did Marcelle and I really listen to it, I believe, except with that sort of preoccupied attention which children give to ugly, grown-up talk. At least I find there are many gaps in it which I can't fill. Perhaps those were the times when Marcelle's aunt lowered her voice to a mysterious whisper and spoke in her interlocutor's ear. All that I really understood from this half-heard story, was that the big, burly, red-faced Hollander, M. Stekkar, whom we glimpsed through the iron grating of the garden gate, lounging about in a purple dressing-gown, had somehow, some awful power over the shabby, thin, gray-faced man, M. Levreau, who never went anywhere without his silent little boy, and who stumbled so as he walked.

"'They were partners together, out in some God-forsaken place in the far East,' said Marcelle's aunt, 'where Stekkar made his money; Java, or Borneo, or somewhere where white men have little law over them. And this poor wretch—they say he was a handsome, fine fellow in those days,—married, and they say he came to blows when Stekkar tried to . . .' here the voice went off into sibilant whispers and I lost the thread, until it rose again with, 'And Stekkar was so furious at that, they say he almost died of his rage, and he swore he'd get even with Levreau for the humiliation, and Levreau laughed and said he wasn't afraid. And then Stekkar bided his time, and the year after . . . well, some say Levreau really did embezzle a lot of the money, and some say Stekkar arranged the accounts to look as though he did . . . and then he put the clamps on. Off Levreau would be sent to prison, arrested right there, leaving the young wife, and a baby about due, there on the island with Stekkar. And then Levreau,' the old woman gloated over the spectacular character of her tale, glanced sideways at the little girls, and lowered her voice again. We heard no more until, '. . . the feeling ran high out there, even among the natives, so they say, after the wife's death, and so Stekkar sold out, retired, and brought Levreau and the baby here to live, and here he gets all his interest in life out of torturing Levreau. You see, he's got a death-grip on him, on account of the child. Levreau would have given himself up, long ago and gone to prison, whether he was guilty or not, if it wouldn't have meant leaving the little boy to old Stekkar, on account of that signed agreement I told you about. So there he is, a rat in a trap.

"—glanced sideways . . . and lowered her voice."

"'Stekkar has the legal right any day to call in the gendarmes and have him put behind bars. And he knows it and daren't do anything on account of little Jean. Well, there's little enough left of him to do anything! The treatment he has had . . . they

say that when Stekkar is more than usually drunk, he makes him . . .' A particularly sibilant whisper followed this, accompanied by upturned eyes of horror on the part of her listener . . . 'and he has taken to drugs, too. Oh, he's nothing but a walking corpse, physically and morally. Stekkar'll get the child all right, before long, in any case. They say he's beginning on him now. Our maid, Madeleine, was talking to old Nanette, the other day, the charwoman who was working there, and she said she saw old Stekkar take little Jean out of his bed, right before his father, and . . .'

"The visitor broke in here, crying, 'In God's name, why doesn't the father take his son and run away . . . just escape! There are plenty of forgotten corners of France where . . .'

" 'He's too broken down to try,' said Marcelle's aunt. 'Stekkar *has* him as a horse-breaker has an animal with a broken spirit. And, anyhow, since the drugs have worked on him so, he's not more than half there any of the time. To drug himself till he can't feel anything Stekkar tries to make him feel, that's *his* escape, and his only one, in this life.'

"At this point the sun showed for a moment through a rift in the clouds and Marcelle and I, feeling fairly stifled in the malarial atmosphere of grown-up gossip and indoor air, clamored to be allowed to take a sandwich apiece and go down to the beach. A few moments later, the great, clean, roaring voice of the sea had drowned out the human voice with its gruesome tale of human doings.

"And yet, I must have taken in, even then, something of the story, for I remember looking with scared pity at M. Levreau the next time I met him in the street. His ravaged gray face was lowered towards the ground, as he made his painful halting way towards the house, his heavy market-basket weighing him down to one side and making his uneven gait more unsteady. The hollow-eyed little boy at his side, clung hard to the bony hand, and trotted anxiously along in unsmiling silence.

"Fourteen-year-olds have, however, a liberal allowance of self-preserving concentration on their own affairs, and our strange neighbors played a very small part in the life of the two romping tomboys. Most of the summer had passed before we gave them more than a passing thought, half aversion, half compassion.

"I had plenty of other things to think of, things that bothered my fourteen-year-old mentality to the verge of utter bewilderment. My troubles began on the day when Marcelle and I came in from the beach and found a new group of guests, evidently familiars of the house; a handsome, white-haired father, a magnificently oriental-looking mother, two elegant young lady daughters, velvet-eyed and langorous, and a grave, noble-looking son, with thoughtful, kind, dark eyes and long, slim, delicate hands . . . all of these things yes, but also unmistakeably with Negro blood. 'Light-colored mulattoes,' I diagnosed them with one glance of my American eyes, experienced in such appraisings.

"I glanced around at the family in astonishment . . . didn't they *know* that their guests were *colored people?* What ought I to do? How could I enlighten them? Perhaps I ought to go and whisper in Marcelle's ear and let her devise some way of telling her mother.

" 'Here, my dear,' said Marcelle's mother, holding out her hand to me, 'Come, I want to introduce you to our friends, Monsieur and Madame Perez. They are Americans, too, like you, only they have lived in Europe so long that we claim them as of us entirely. Madame, this is a little American schoolfriend of my Marcelle, but from North America . . . it *is* North America, isn't it, dear? The Perez were from South America originally.'

"The Perez smiled down, out of their kind, soft, dark eyes, on the awkward crimson-faced child, who, bewildered and ill at ease, stared at them unhappily. Perhaps Marcelle's family *did* know that their guests were . . .

"The conversation flowed on, urbane, various, facile, and closed over the head of the child, who sat miserably trying to readjust her notions of things. I was suffering the sick uncertainty that comes to children with the first sharp encounter with totally new standards. The quite matter-of-fact ignorance of Marcelle's family, that there *was* any other standard than their own, inconceivable to me, gave me a dizzy feeling. I did not know what I really felt about it; I did not even know what I thought I ought to feel, and I hated the moral distress that this uncertainty gave me.

"But after they had gone, I had a staggering blow, compared to which these little pushings and shovings were as nothing. Marcelle's mother and aunt broke out into panegyrics of their visitors, who were, I gathered, very wealthy, very artistic, very gifted, very charitable, very distinguished, and, said Marcelle's aunt, forgetting my nationality, 'There's such a *fineness* about them, none of that crudeness you see in most other Americans. Sometimes I think it is their colored ancestry that gives them that refinement. I've noticed that Americans with a little colored blood often seem more gently bred than . . .'

"But at this point Marcelle's mother remembered I was there and make a quick change of subject.

"Not that I was capable of protesting. I was sunk in a stupor of astonishment so extreme that I had no words. As I look back on the situation now, there was a comic element in my stupefaction, but I felt none at the time, only a sore, hurt surprise, as though my mind had suffered an attack from a quarter which in the nature of things should have been secure.

"It was not long after this, when I was still revolving my new impressions furtively, that, loitering on the beach with Marcelle, we came upon Jefferson Heywood, towering up above the Breton fishermen like a black portent. He certainly looked like one to the little American girl who gazed at him open-mouthed, quite sure that it was physically impossible that he, of all people, should be there. He had preserved all the insolent self-possession which had been his old defence and showed neither the slightest surprise nor discomfiture at being recognized, although he was evidently very drunk again.

"'Hello there, Miss Ma'gret,' he said. 'It's a long way from here to the old elevator, isn't it?'

"'Well, *Jeff!*' I ejaculated. 'How in the world did you get here?'"

(To be concluded in the May CRISIS)

BIRD ROMANCE

MARY EFFIE LEE

THERE are birds, a sound from which, a motion from which, suggest a world of romance:

A killdeer darting through the air, sowing its seed-like song!

The oboe of the dove has a sad strain, like the sound of forest brooks in the fall. The oboe of the dove says that in every green leaf, there is blue with the gold; for every gold day, a blue or gray night. There is blue in the violet and blue in the moss; for every singing stream, a bed of somber brown or gray; for every lament, a waiting wind. Alas! the oboe of the dove has a sad strain.

To the listless lily-like blooms of the honeysuckle vines, the dewy sleepy little blossoms of cream and Naples yellow, that all night have rested in the still shadows, comes this impassioned pilgrim from the tropics—this ruby-throated humming bird, this dwarf of fire, this bird that has traveled more than half a thousand miles in a night, crossing the Gulf and leaving South America's ardent days for the brief mating bliss in the cool drooping vines that seem unmindful of the birds and the fire and color born so suddenly in the passive arbor-plant.

The calm kingfisher, swirling low over the lagoon, swirling low above its shadow of sepia and silver, losing its shadow when it finds the reeds of gold and the shore!

In the white winter go those wild outlaws, the crows, into the gaunt black woods whose tall straight trees shred the sunset—strips of tangerine and gold torn by the ebony—and crows flying through a white sky and over a ghostly earth to this weird paradise! But, oh, the sweeping desolation of their call lingers after them, quivering in the air, harrying the heart of man long after the crows and the sunset are gone!

The Cardinal's Concert Halls

in

Autumn —— Spring

and Winter

NATIONALISM AND EGYPT

JESSIE FAUSET

THE demand of Egypt for self-government and freedom has been fanned into a mighty conflagration by the wonderful pronouncements, made during the war, on the rights of small nations to self-determination. But it must not be forgotten that this fire itself is not newly created, but has lain smouldering on the hearthstones of Egypt for nearly forty years.

Egyptian grievances date from 1882, when England stepped in as adviser of Egypt's complicated political affairs. It is true that the Khedive Ismail Pasha had left great financial disaster in his wake. It is true that his successor, Tewfik Pasha, was a weak and incapable ruler. Even extreme Nationalists will admit that Lord Cromer, who became virtually viceroy of Egypt, did work wonders with the chaotic finances, besides introducing a system of irrigation which has been the fellah's salvation.

But with all these improvements, there came an accompanying train of evils. In the first place, the British had stepped in uninvited. They made constant pledges to evacuate, it is true, and in the early years, went to some pains to declare that their control was to be only temporary. Chamberlain promised, in 1882, complete independence to Egypt, as did also Gladstone in 1882, Salisbury in 1889, and Campbell-Bannerman in 1894. Mr. Gladstone indeed went so far as to say in August, 1882, "Do we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt? Undoubtedly, of all things in the world, that is a thing which we are not going to do." And as long as Mr. Gladstone was in power, Lord Cromer bided his time and was careful not to carry his authority with too high a hand. Even then, asserts Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, an authority on English rule in Egypt, Lord Cromer never had the least thought of encouraging "the prudent development of Egypt's institutions, promised in the Queen's speech of February, 1882."

As soon as Mr. Gladstone went out of power, Lord Cromer adopted different tactics. With the death of Tewfik in 1892, Abbas Hilmi became Khedive. He was eighteen then,—a keen, high-spirited lad. Conflict between himself and Lord Cromer was inevitable. It came in the choice of a ministry, in which the English decision stood. Thereafter, all Egypt knew that edicts issued by Abbas, had first passed English censorship. But this era marked the definite beginning of the New Nationalist Party.

The British still kept up their promise of withdrawing from Egypt at the earliest possible moment. But after the campaign of the Sudan in 1898-1899, even the most guileless Egyptian knew that the nation had taken on its shoulders a veritable old man of the sea. The hard work of the campaign, concentrating in the affairs at Fashoda and at Omdurman, had fallen on the Egyptians but the British claimed by "'right of conquest' to share in the settlement of the administration and legislation of that country." The heavy yearly charges for the maintenance of the conduct of Sudanese affairs became part, however, of the Egyption Budget.

Great Britain was in Egypt to stay. The very success of Lord Cromer's financial adjustment, which for all its success, worked, by taxation, great hardship to the poorer classes, showed the immense recuperative powers of the country. It was not in human nature to give up such a gold-mine Not the least task of the British official, was to undertake to prove to the Egyptian that it was to Egypt's benefit to remain under British rule.

The Egyptian chafed as much at this hypocrisy as he did at the exploitation of his country. But even more galling than the bearing of these burdens, was the British administration of Egyptian Civil Service. The British in the Civil Service were usually arrogant, self-seeking individuals who would not undertake to instruct the native, for fear he might supplant them. Native officials were treated with patronage, not to say insolence, and often subordinated to incompetent English. The big salaries and the important positions were understood to be European perquisites; the minor positions went to Egyptians, who even then

received only a third or a half of the salary given an Englishman holding a similar position.

Egyptians could not be sure of justice in the courts. There was the famous Denshawai incident, in which a British officer came to blows with a fellah who with his friends defended himself. The officer infuriated, rushed off to his camp, some two miles distant, but on the way, succumbed to sunstroke. This was proved again and again by competent medical authority. But nothing could keep four of the fellaheen from meeting with punishment by death and their friends from an extravagant term of imprisonment.

Added to these grievances, was the fact that Egyptian activities, such as wheat, tobacco and sugar raising, were killed off in the interest of British exporters. Less palpable, but no less far-reaching in effect, the British administrator rarely tried to understand the temper of the people. Lord Cromer, although his stay in Egypt lasted over twenty years, never troubled, according to Duse Mohamed, to learn Arabic.

Meanwhile, although Egypt was still supposed to be a part of the Turkish Empire, the world became used to the establishment of a "veiled" protectorate in that country. The outbreak of the World War made this condition more apparent. Abbas Hilmi, still Khedive of Egypt at this time, showed plainly his determination to link Egypt with Turkey and to cast in his lot with the Germans. The British promptly deposed him, and placed Hussein Kamel on the throne, December 1914, as the first Sultan of Egypt. But with his promotion to power, came also the formal declaration from Great Britain that she was establishing a protectorate over Egypt.

The protectorate was merely a "war measure", the British said, and beyond that, said almost nothing more. This proclamation served to irritate further not only those Nationalists who had long since chafed under the "temporary" control of the British, but also many of the disaffected. Even then, a little tact might have saved the day. If the British had had the forethought to accept the Egyptians as allies, they would have saved much future bitterness. But when Hussein and his Ministry offered the services of the Egyptian Army to the Allied cause, they were refused.

It is true that later the Egyptians were called on not only to defend the Suez Canal against the aggressions of Turkey, but also to contribute—to the extent of a million of men!—to the Transport and Labor Corps. But the great spiritual impetus to be gained by the grateful recognition of an involuntary offer to aid in a cause which by its very nature made all men equals, was indubitably lost.

The slight was felt all the more keenly because of England's attitude toward India. She too had offered her resources, both men and money. And at Lord Hardinge's proposal, Indian soldiers had proceeded to France and fought side by side with British troops. Through the Legislative and Provincial Councils of the Indian Viceroy, Indians were consulted, and although, as every body knows, there were discriminations, still some show at least was made of taking India into account.

In addition to this very real grievance, were the grievances resulting from the exercise by the British in Egypt of an overzealous and unwise military authority which completely overshadowed civil authority. Here again, the British made one of those errors so surprising to find on the part of a people of such diplomatic experience—they removed an official, Sir John Maxwell, who, by virtue of his long experience and his great popularity with all classes, might have done much to lessen the rigor of the British occupation. The Anzacs, it may be remembered, were largely quartered in Egypt at this time and their intolerable and insolent attitude played its share in increasing the irritation of the native populace. Some idea of the insults endured by the Egyptians at the hands of the Australians may be had from a report given in the White Book, of a statement made by a Miss Durham, and published in the *Daily News*, April 2, 1919.

I was in Egypt from November, 1915, to April, 1916, and can confirm the statement of Dr. Haden Guest, that it is to our own treatment of the Egyptians that we owe the present trouble. The authorities were certainly to blame in landing colonial troops in Egypt without carefully instructing them as to the population they would meet there. So ignorant were numbers of these men, that they imagined Egypt was English, and that the natives were colored intruders. "Why

IN ANCIENT EGYPT

were these—niggers allowed in here at all?"

More than one Australian said that he would clear the lot out, if he had his way. They treated the natives with cruelty and contempt. In the canteen in which I worked, a very good native servant was kicked and knocked about simply because he did not understand an order given him by a soldier. An educated native in the town, was struck in the mouth and had his inlaid walking stick snatched from him by a soldier who wanted it. More than one English resident said to me: "It will take years to undo the harm that has been done here by the army." Personally, I felt that were I an Egyptian, I should have spared no effort to evict the British. I felt ashamed of my country,—bitterly ashamed. . . .

To make matters worse, for the first few days after the troops arrived in quantities, the drink shops were all open all day, and the unlovely results filled the natives with disgust and contempt. It was reported, I do not know with what truth, that drunken men had snatched the veils from Moslem women.

The Armistice found Egyptian dissatisfaction running high. During the course of the war, Great Britain had deliberately created an independent kingdom of the Hedjaz, also Moslems, but inferior in Egyptian eyes; and their newly created ruler, Emir Faisal, was to have a seat at the Peace Conference. Armenia, Syria, and Lebanon, newly created states, which as Turkish provinces, had for the most part fought against the Allies, also sent delegations. But here was Egypt,—technically an independent government, assured by Great Britain that the establishment of the protectorate was only a war measure, which carried the implication that it was only for the duration of the war,—here was Egypt absolutely debarred from a place at the Peace Table.

Nationalism became an encircling fire which for the first time touched all classes.

Students of El Azhar, the famous university in Cairo, joined with working classes; the people of the cities joined with the fellaheen in an appeal for the recognition of Egyptian independence. Finally, the extreme Nationalists got together a deputation of their own to go to Paris and to lay claim before the Conference, under the high name of self-determination, to a complete and immediate autonomy. The more conservative element did not approve of this deputation, but the harsh treatment received by this body at the hands of Great Britain, finally brought even these into line.

The contemptuous regard in which both English and American representatives held this deputation, strikes a chill to the hearts of those who have cherished the belief that the war was a "holy" one, waged in the interest of real liberties. The delegates were in no sense undeserving of regard. They were chosen by the Legislative Assembly which had been elected by the Egyptian people before the war.

The members of the Delegation were Saad Zaghlul Pasha, president, Mohomet Pasha Mahmoud, and Ismail Pasha Sidky.

Zaghlul is of fellah (peasant) stock and received his education at El Azhar, drinking in all the beliefs and traditions of its thousand year existence and fostering and promulgating the spirit of nationalism with the other members of "the faithful" who thronged its portals. Mahomet Pasha Mahmoud, also of fellah origin, was educated at Oxford, in England, where he was popularly styled "the Pride of Balliol." Mahmoud at one time published a nationalistic journal, in Cairo, which was suppressed because of the stand which he took against the foreign invasion. The third delegate, Ismail Pasha Sidky, has been least heard of in the West. He alone, of the three, is said to be of noble birth, and is reputed to have the greatest ability.

On November 3, 1918, this Delegation called on Sir Reginald Wingate, British High Commissioner in Egypt, and asked for passports to London. Their request was repeatedly set aside and the men themselves virtually imprisoned in Cairo. Meanwhile, Rushdi Pasha, Egyptian Prime Minister, also sought access to London to confer with Great Britain on the future of Egyptian affairs.

On being refused, he tendered his resignation which, after some delay, was accepted March 2, 1919. The British Government, finding it difficult to form a new ministry, put the blame on Zaghlul's deputation and ordered them to headquarters. There they were accused, according to Mahomet Pasha Mahmoud, who later visited this country, of causing a delay in the formation of a new ministry and menaced with dire penalties under martial law.

On March 8, Zaghlul, Mahmoud, Sidky and Hamad Pasha El-Bassil were arrested, secretly entrained, and deported to Malta, where they were detained for some time, until the British allowed them to proceed to Paris. The period of the exile of these men was marked by broadcast rioting in which even the women shared. This was met by the most merciless severity on the part of the British.

Aly Chaaraoui, Vice-President of the Delegation and member of the Legislative Assembly, says in a letter to General Allenby:

> The most distinguished women in Egyptian society were not able to see their fellow-countrymen treated in this way, and keep silent about it. The curtain that ordinarily separates our women of the upper classes from the outside world, did not prevent them from expressing their sentiments. In fact nearly three hundred women of the most important families of Cairo, organized on March 20, a simple and dignified manifestation, after they had read in the morning newspapers that permission had been granted them. But when they got out of their carriages and reached the home of Saad Zaghlul Pasha, the British soldiers surrounded them on all sides, with fixed bayonets pointed towards them, and compelled them to remain two hours under a broiling sun, without allowing them to walk or to go home in their carriages.
>
> One of the Egyptian women said, "Make of me, if you will, a second Miss Cavell!"

No pains were spared to keep the members of the Peace Conference in touch with the aspirations of the Egyptian Delegation. For instance, this telegram was sent on December 4, 1918, to Mr. Lloyd George:

> What is happening in Egypt, is so directly in opposition with the traditions of Great Britain and with the liberal policy of which your Excellency has always been the champion, that the Egyptians have come to ask themselves whether the principles that the statesmen of the Empire do not cease to proclaim in their daily declarations, are applicable to certain fractions of humanity only, —to the exclusion of others less favored.
>
> When your great country has just come

victoriously out of a struggle that it entered only for the sake of liberty, does it permit that, in its name, this same liberty is denied us?

And on January 11, 1919, the Delegation sent this message to Georges Clemenceau:

To the President of the Peace Conference which will decide the fate of the small nations, not on the basis of international compensations, but on that of absolute justice, the Egyptian Delegation, charged to defend before the Conference the cause of Egypt, declares that in contradiction to the new principles born of the Allied victory—brute force prevents us from leaving our country to submit to the Conference our demands and national aspirations. . . .

In the name of liberty, of which you have been during your whole life, by word and pen, the untiring champion; in the name of justice, which you have promised to make the basis of the deliberations and decisions of the Conference; in the name of humanity which cannot permit that a people pass from hand to hand like vulgar merchandise, we implore you not to interpret our silence and failure to appear in person at Paris as our acceptance of the domination imposed upon us nor to decide the future of our nation without having heard us.

None of the letters and telegrams sent to these authorities brought any response, though one letter was left in person by a friend of the Delegation, at Downing Street.

The purpose of the Delegation on arriving in Paris, was to lay their case before Mr. Wilson. They knew that he was the author of the "Fourteen Points" and the father of the doctrine of self-determination for small nations. They could not but believe in his sincerity. According to the Egyptian White Book, which the Delegation published on finally reaching Paris, four telegrams, dated December 14, 1918; December 27, 1918; January 3, 1919; and January 13, 1919, were sent to Mr. Wilson from Cairo by the Delegation. Not one of these received an answer.

On April 22, 1919, the Delegates, now in Paris, sent Mr. Wilson the following letter:

I have the honor to submit that the entry of the United States into the World War in 1917, and her wonderful and inspired leadership during the past two years, have given the Egyptian people confidence that their claims to independence, guaranteed by the new Society of Nations, would receive a hearing from the Peace Conference and the support of all who are longing for a durable world peace.

From the beginning of the war, the Egyptian nation has never faltered in its loyalty to the Entente Alliance, and especially to Great Britain. To avoid the raising of embarrassing questions, the Egyptian leaders decided to work whole-heartedly for the winning of the war, and postpone discussion of the future of Egypt until the Peace Conference.

A delegation has been sent to Paris by the Egyptians to present their case. We represent all elements of the Egyptian population, Mohammedan and Christian alike.

I quite understand that your Excellency is over-burdened with demands for audiences. But the importance of our cause justifies the request that one of my colleagues and I be received by you on the day and at the hour when you are able to grant us a hearing.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

SAAD ZAGHLUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.

On April 24, the President of the Delegation received this reply:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 22, and to say that it will be brought to the President's attention.

Sincerely yours,
GILBERT F. CLOSE,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Three days after the arrival of the Delegation in Paris, word was sent everywhere, that Mr. Wilson recognized the British protectorate of Egypt. In this connection, the account of Mr. Bullitt's report to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (in this country) is most interesting. According to Mr. Bullitt, Mr. Wilson was urged by the British to put an end to the Egyptian difficulty by acknowledging the protectorate, since it was his "Fourteen Points" which had caused the whole trouble. The matter Mr. Bullitt recalled, was settled the morning on which it was brought up, before luncheon.

Senator Knox opined at this point, with obvious sarcasm, that "That was a good deal of time to spend on the affairs of a small state like Egypt"!

Mr. Bullitt rejoined that Senator Knox ought to know how it was done, since he had been Secretary of State.

"Yes," replied Senator Knox, "but we never chewed them up that fast"!

In spite of the declaration of the President's recognition of the protectorate, the Delegation kept their splendid, if somewhat inconvenient, faith and on April 29, and June 6, 1919, two more letters were sent to President Wilson. In one of these letters Saad Zaghlul says:

IN MODERN EGYPT

The principles—which were declared in the name of the American people as the basis of a democratic and a durable peace—have become so deep-rooted in the hearts of the whole Egyptian people, that they revolted, unarmed, for the application of these principles to their country. Their absolute faith in the fourteen points, in the speech of September 27, last, and in other declarations was unshakable. And the bullets of the British Army in Egypt, were powerless to shake their firm belief in your ability—and in the ability of the American people—to realize the principles for which they had fought and won. In the deportation of my colleagues and myself, the Egyptian people saw an attempt on the part of the British authorities to deprive the country of the benefit of your consideration.

Their will prevailed. We were released and our first duty on arriving at Paris, was to request your Excellency for an audience. This honor was denied to us, and a few days later, the recognition by the government of the United States of America of the British protectorate over Egypt, was published throughout the world.

According to information received, the news in Egypt fell on deaf ears. The Egyptians could not imagine that the principles which promised to the world a new era of political freedom and political equality would consecrate the servitude of a whole nation.

The decision of the Peace Conference with regard to Egypt, resulted in a policy of systematic revenge by the British military authorities throughout the country. Towns and villages have been submitted to most awful exactions. Some villages have been completely burned, and thousands of families are without shelter. People who do not salute British officers are court martialled. The *koorbash* * is being most freely used. Notables are being maltreated and imprisoned. Women were violated, and in one case a husband (who was present) was shot dead by the troops while attempting to defend the honor of his wife.

And all this because the Egyptian people have dared to demand their political emancipation!

The answer came in a few days:

Paris, June 9, 1919.

I am writing you on behalf of the President, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th and to express regret that the President's time has been so completely taken up that he has not had an opportunity to make an appointment to see you.

Sincerely yours,
GILBERT F. CLOSE.

England, thoroughly alarmed by the persistent rioting, first recalled Lord Allenby from Syria and put him in charge of affairs in Egypt. Then she determined to send Lord Milner at the head of a strong mission to inquire into the causes of the various outbreaks. According to Lord Curzon, the main object of Lord Milner and his associates was—"in consultation with the Sultan and his ministers and representative Egyptians of all classes—to devise the details of a constitution by which all these parties shall be able, in their several spheres and in an increasing degree, to coöperate in the management of Egyptian affairs".

The promise of the special mission failed to calm Egypt. Extreme Nationalists pointed out that this promise had been wrung from England only by dint of threats of violence. Others objected, on the ground that Egyptian affairs were international and dealing with the mission reduced them to the status of England's domestic interests. There was a pretty general determination to boycott the mission on its arrival. Thus, matters have come to an *impasse*.

The East and the West are clashing not only over separate and distinct ideas, but also over ideas which are practically similar. Each is determined to gain and maintain its own supremacy. England, having once seized Egypt in her grip, is holding on with all her bulldog tenacity. Egypt's request for autonomy means practically nothing to England. Great Britain's sovereignty must be maintained. "Let nobody," says Mr. Balfour, "in Egypt or elsewhere, make any mistake about that."

But Egypt is thoroughly aroused now. She sees English motives clearly and estimates their worth. "The abyss," says Saad Zaghlul, "between the aggressors and their victims, has become deeper. The struggle becomes fiercer. This struggle is unequal, if one judges from the viewpoint of brutal force against unarmed right; but it is a struggle from which Egypt, sooner or later, will come forth victorious, because she defends an ideal, and there is no force on earth that can indefinitely conquer an idea."

Who doubts that Egypt is really speaking for the whole dark world? Thus is the scene being staged for the greatest and most lasting conflict of peoples.

*The lash.

THE NATIONAL Y.W.C.A. AND THE NEGRO

MISS CATHARINE D. LEALTAD.

MY DEAR SIR:

ON December 31, 1919, the International Student Volunteer Convention met in Des Moines, Iowa. The secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. did the recruiting of student delegates in the colleges and universities.

Previous to the opening of the convention, the colored secretaries had been assured of no discrimination; Mr. De Frantz of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. saw Dr. Penfield of the Hospitality Committee in Des Moines, personally, and was assured that the secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. would be accommodated in the hotel, with their respective staffs.

I arrived in Des Moines, three days before the convention opened, to help allocate colored students; on my arrival the local Y. W. C. A. secretary told me that Dr. Penfield said that the hotels would not receive colored guests. I immediately took the matter up with the Y. W. C. A. secretary, who was working with the Convention Committee, and with Mr. Wilbur Smith, Executive of the Convention, demanding that as a member of the staff of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., I be accommodated in the same hotel in which the staffs of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. were to be housed.

The next morning the colored secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. arrived and were, also, informed that there were no accommodations for the colored secretaries—they also took the matter up with the officials of the convention, who in turn took the matter up with the hotel manager. The morning that the convention opened, the matter was settled with the hotel manager and the men secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. and Dr. George Haynes, one of the speakers on the convention program, were admitted to the hotel.

The Senior Secretary of the Y. W. C. A., however, informed Mr. Turner, of the Student Volunteer Convention, that *she* would allocate her colored women secretaries. Miss Condé called the four colored secretaries into a conference. In spite of the fact that the men secretaries had been admitted to the hotel, Miss Condé told me that in demanding that I be accommodated in the hotel with the rest of my staff, I was acting contrary to the customary policy of the Y. W. C. A. She further stated that it was the policy of the Y. W. C. A. to take the middle ground, that they could make no demand of the hotel association that they admit us, and further stated that, had the Executive of the Colored Work been in Des Moines, she would never have taken that stand or allowed me to have taken that stand. She also clearly stated that they could not afford to do such, because they might alienate the white constituency of the Association in that state, and informed us that she had made arrangements for the colored secretaries to be housed in the white local Y. W. C. A., as we were.

Following the convention, a staff conference of the secretaries was held, for which we had to remain in the city two nights. The local Association refused to accommodate us for the remaining two nights after the convention had closed,—saying that the convention being over, they could not establish a precedent by keeping us in their

dormitory, and we were forced to move out and find other accommodations for the remaining two nights. During that staff conference, I made a public statement that the Christian spirit, for which they stood, had been put to the acid test in Des Moines, and that they had failed us utterly. I further stated that I could not keep my self-respect nor the respect of the people of my race if I remained with the Y. W. C. A.,—therefore, I resigned.

Because of my attitude and action in Des Moines, the General Secretary of the National movement called a meeting of all the colored Field Workers in New York, on our return from Des Moines, because she felt that the Triennial Convention, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, was so near that there had to be an understanding with the colored secretaries, so that there would not be another situation such as there was in Des Moines. In that conference she told the colored secretaries that even in Cleveland, Ohio, if there were hotels which were willing to accommodate colored guests, she thought that it was best that the colored secretaries understand that colored delegates to the convention should not go to the hotels, because their presence there, might be offensive to their southern white delegates, and the Association did not wish to alienate that group. The secretaries present made no protest—in fact, Miss Adele Ruffin proceeded to explain, for the benefit of those of us who had not been there, that at the time of the Louisville, Ky., convention, the colored women had consented to go no faster in their work than the attitude of the southern white women would warrant.

I think that such a policy of compromise and a policy which caters to the whims and prejudices of southern whites, is anything but Christian and that the public at large should know of the attitude and policy of this organization.

Yours very truly,

CATHARINE D. LEALTAD.

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THE NEGRO FACES AMERICA*

(Excerpts from a forthcoming book of that title by HERBERT J. SELIGMANN)

THE chief problem of race relations in the United States, is the education of white people to decency in their attitude toward colored citizens. The nation will never be made whole in its own conscience while overt lawlessness stalks in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Any group which desires material advantage from the exploitation of another group, always takes pains to characterize its victims as inferior. There have been times when Englishmen were as assured of the inferiority of the Irish as many a white man now is about the "nigger". The Turk is, doubtless, convinced of the inferiority of the Armenian; the Magyar and the Czech, the Rumanian and the Magyar, the Polish noble and the Jew, all furnish examples of oppression, justified by spurious "inferiorities". Under cover of these appeals to contempt and passion, the human relations, which make civilization possible, are ruthlessly violated.

In all the disorders that took place in 1919, the Negro fought in self-protection. He no longer relied on promises or on protection, even of the federal government. With a Democratic administration in power, the Negro had little to hope from federal protection during and immediately after the world war. In the national capital, Jim-Crowism had crept in. Negroes were not served in the restaurants of the Capitol, and they found the attitude of the South reflected everywhere in Washington. They found the Department of Justice being used, not to examine into deplorable conditions which had brought about race riots, but to trace the tenuous connections between "reds", I. W. W., and the Negro, and to pro-

*Published by Harper & Brothers.

claim Negro insurrection and radicalism to a willing press and a credulous public. It is emancipation to distrust others and to rely upon oneself. Never, perhaps, in the history of the country, was there more distrust of American white men by Negroes than after the world war. They had taken the measure of the white press and its news distributing organizations. They had seen local government crumble and brutality reign almost unchecked, except by their own bullets. They had seen the federal government, through its one department articulate on their affairs, pursue not their oppressors, but those who were voicing their heart-felt, burning sense of injustice.

In the play of political life, which has consisted in endeavoring to make recalcitrant fact fit the mold of men's desire, the colored United States citizen has been the victim of extraneous issues, created and constantly invoked by those who in effect want to divorce the practice of American government from the affirmations upon which, presumptively, it rests.

In fifty-four years Negroes in the United States demonstrated that not only could they acquire the fundamentals of education necessary to participation in the processes of democratic government, but they have made progress that would be considered extraordinary when measured by any standards. Against the initial opposition and disbelief expressed in the Black Codes and subsequent disfranchisement in the Southern States, against the repression, most violently imposed by the Ku-Klux and still a part of the code of many white Americans, they have with relentless determination built business enterprise, gone to the land and made it yield to them, fought their way by sheer work and talent, into the closed ranks of the professions, furnished to the United States government district attorneys, consular and diplomatic officers, and against most determined opposition, military leaders and soldiers. In the commerce between cultured representatives of the Negro and white races, where the Negro is freed from the attitude of defense and awkward apprehension and the white man has progressed beyond the savage canon which says that strangers are enemies, a reciprocity becomes possible, that has a slight zest of adventure and challenges perception. From the point of view of such friendships, which the southern code would bar, distinctions of color are as extraneous as those of nationality. It is at once tragic and laughable that the meanest white man, whose universe is bounded by his local newspaper and his own hates, should take precedence over the colored student and artist; it is one of those ironies of which the world is prodigal, that by a rigid dogma enforced with all the conviction of inquisition, bounds should be set to the work of the scientist, that people should be misinformed, hates perpetuated and introduced in new fields, creative spirits checked and frustrated.

To no small degree is the development of American musical comedy, its intriguing rhythms and its popular songs, due to colored composers and librettists. In the gap between American idealism and the hard-boiled soul of American practicality, the American Negro has interposed his warmth and vivacity.

The first step in an approach to the problems of race relations, will be a demand upon the part of United States citizens for information, exact information not only of the anthropologist, but with regard to the treatment of colored men and women by white men and women in the United States. When those facts are made known, American public opinion will demand a change, amounting to revolution. If such a demand is not made, antagonism between white and colored people, played upon for political and chiefly for economic and industrial purposes, bolstering inefficiency, ignorance, and Prussianism in the South, infecting the entire people with intolerance, will become one of many forces disintegrating any orderly processes of civilization.

It rests with informed and intelligent minorities, with class-conscious laborites, colored and white, to rescue the relations between white and colored Americans from the embitterment into which they threaten to gravitate. Meanwhile, the American Negro, disillusioned, newly emancipated from reliance upon any white savior, stands ready to make his unique contribution to what may sometime become American civilization.

National · Association · for · the ··· Advancement · of · Colored · People.

MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

THE March CRISIS contained a summary of the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the year 1919, which we are sure will be of the utmost interest to CRISIS readers as indicating a year of great activity and progress. We would remind our readers that every live organization lives in the present rather than in the past, that while it may "point with pride" to past achievements, it must live in the present and plan wisely for the future. The National Association is not satisfied with having achieved a membership of more than 91,000 in 1919, but wants to retain this membership and increase it.

During 1919, Association members and contributors backed the national work to the extent of $61,775.70; $34,266.25 of this amount came from branch memberships, being approximately 50 per cent. of the amount of minimum membership fees received by the branches; $8,364.63 was received from contributors to the General Fund of five dollars and over; $18,130.37 came from contributors to the Anti-lynching and Legal Defense Funds.

It is interesting to note that approximately 62,300 individuals contributed to the Association's support as follows:

Contributors of	*General Fund*	*Special Funds*
$1000 and over	1	5
500 to 999	3	1
100 to 499	24	39
25 to 99	62	105
10 to 24	118	190
2 to 9	1,031	323
Less than 2	60,411	23

The proportion of each Branch Membership usually remitted to the National Office is fifty cents per member or one-half the minimum membership fee.

In 1920, $78,000 must be raised to meet the National Office budget requirements. Through the *Branch Bulletin*, the branches of the Association have been informed of plans for the 1920 Membership Drive, which is to be known as the *One Hundred Per Cent Democracy Drive*. The more than three hundred Association branches will be engaged in enrolling recruits to the N. A. A. C. P. banners during March, April, and the early part of May, culminating at the Atlantic Conference at which final reports are to be made.

It will readily be realized that the one dollar minimum membership fee does not go as far in actual support of the work as before the present era of increasing prices. Consequently, special efforts are being made, through the branches and otherwise, to secure an increased number of members who will contribute larger amounts than the one dollar minimum. Particular attention is called to the campaign to be carried on for Gold Certificate and Blue Certificate members who contribute ten dollars and five dollars, respectively.

CRISIS readers who have not affiliated with any branch and who are not now regular Association members or who usually contribute the minimum fee, are earnestly invited to become certificate members. Checks and post office orders for $10, or $5, may be sent to J. E. Spingarn, Treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Certificate members will receive these special certificates, which are suitable for framing if desired and entitle the member to all publications of the Association for one year, *i.e.*, THE CRISIS, the *Branch Bulletin* and all pamphlet publications issued during the year, thus enabling the member to keep in touch with every phase of the Association's campaign as it is being carried on from month to month.

At a meeting of the Chicago Branch, held on February 22, at which the Rev. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church of New York, Vice President of the Association, was the principal speaker, and at which $1,028 was raised and pledged, more than $800 was raised and pledged in five and ten dollar memberships alone. This is the first report received of an organized effort

WOMAN'S WAR RELIEF CLUB, Syracuse, N. Y.

to secure certificate members and is distinctly encouraging.

Responses are beginning to come in from a special appeal sent to a selected list of colored men who were asked to contribute up to $100 annually for the next three years (1920, 1921, and 1922). Up to March 1, two pledges of one hundred dollars have been received; others, who were unable to pledge one hundred dollars a year for three years, have pledged as follows: Two, fifty dollars a year for three years; three, twenty-five dollars a year for three years; two, ten dollars a year for three years; and one, five dollars a year for three years. The Association is deeply grateful for this response and hopes that the number of such pledges will be considerably increased in the near future.

THE ATLANTA CONFERENCE

THE Eleventh Annual Conference of the Association will be held some time in May (the exact date is yet to be fixed) at Atlanta, Ga. The following invitations from Governor Dorsey of Georgia, Mayor Key of Atlanta, the Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta, and the Committee on Church Co-operation of Atlanta, have been received:

"Mr. Moorfield Storey,
President, N. A. A. C. P. (In session at Cleveland, Ohio.)

You are urged to hold your 1920 Convention in the City of Atlanta. It is believed that your meeting here will be helpful to our state and especially to the colored people of the section.

HUGH M. DORSEY, Governor."

"Rev. A. D. Williams,
Georgia Delegation, N. A. A. C. P. (In session at Cleveland, Ohio.)

City of Atlanta would be delighted to have your Convention meet here in 1920. We have a very large progressive citizenship among the colored people and there is a distinct harmony and cordial relation between white and colored. We would feel that your meeting here would help us in meeting the problem and we would be happy if we can help you.

JAMES L. KEY, Mayor."

"Rev. A. D. Williams,
Georgia Delegation, N. A. A. C. P. (In session at Cleveland, Ohio.)

We extend a cordial invitation to your organization to hold next Convention in Atlanta.

ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE."

"Mr. Moorfield Storey,
President, N. A. A. C. P. Boston, Mass.
Dear Sir:

We have learned with interest of the possibility of your Association holding its annual convention in our city, next June.

Permit us to add our cordial invitation to others which have gone to you from Atlanta, to come.

In addition to the large membership of the local branch of your Association, Atlanta is ideally situated, both geographically and climatically, for such a gathering. We hope you will come.

Very truly yours,
COMMITTEE ON CHURCH CO-OPERATION.
By James Morton, *Executive Secretary.*"

The Governor has consented to address the conference at one of its sessions, if he is in the state at the time, Mayor Key will speak, and the Chamber of Commerce will send a representative who will also address the conference. In a later issue of THE CRISIS, the exact date of the conference and an outline of the program will be given.

LEGAL DEFENSE

CHICAGO

IN the January CRISIS, mention was made of the work of the National Association in co-operation with the Chicago Branch, in the legal defense of the colored riot defendants and victims of the Chicago riots who might wish to avail themselves of the services of counsel provided by the N. A. A. C. P. and who otherwise might not have had adequate legal protection. Counsel secured, the Hon. S. S. Gregory, former President of the American Bar Association, former Senator James T. Barbour, and members of the Cook County Bar Association, conducted the legal defense under the general auspices of the Joint Committee to Secure Equal Justice for Colored Riot Defendants, composed of representatives of the Cook County Bar Association, the Chicago Urban League, the Chicago Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the Chicago Branch, N. A. A. C. P., and the various churches of the city.

Sixty-nine cases were tried up to March 1, in which 59 of the defendants were acquitted. Four cases, in which life sentences were meted out, are being appealed.

HILL EXTRADITION CASE

ON January 21, Robert L. Hill, alleged president of the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of Arkansas, was arrested in Topeka, Kan. Governor Brough of

Arkansas requested his extradition to Arkansas, to be tried on charges of fomenting an alleged uprising of Negroes against whites, with which readers of THE CRISIS are already familiar, an article on the subject having appeared in the December, 1919, CRISIS. The National Office immediately got in touch with Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas, requesting the Governor not to grant extradition until the Association could be represented by counsel to fight the extradition. Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas, member of the Board of Directors of the Association, joined the National Office in the appeal to Governor Allen. Mr. H. T. Fisher of Topeka, County Attorney of Shawnee County, Kansas, at the request of Senator Capper and National Headquarters, volunteered his services as chief counsel. Associated with him are three colored attorneys, Messrs. Elisha Scott, James H. Guy, and A. M. Thomas. The Association in its telegram to the Governor requesting him to deny or withhold extradition until the Association could be represented by counsel, urged that Hill could not receive a fair trial in Arkansas; that this fact had been conclusively proved by the record of trial and conviction, growing out of the same charges, of the ninety-one colored defendants accused of murder, rioting, nightriding, etc., within five days by a jury from which all colored men were excluded, although there were qualified Negro jurors in the county; that five of the men sentenced to death were tried in one proceeding without severance, the trial taking only forty-five minutes; that counsel appointed by the court put no witness on the stand in behalf of the defendants and did not ask for any change of venue. The precedent of Governor McCall of Massachusetts was cited, in his denial, in 1918, of the extradition of John Johnson, a Negro, to West Virginia, on similar grounds.

At this writing (March 1), the final hearing of the Hill case has not been had, so that we cannot report what Governor Allen's decision will be. Before this issue reaches the readers, however, Governor Allen undoubtedly will have rendered his decision. We can assure our readers that every effort is being made by our attorneys in Hill's behalf. No expense is being spared to present his case adequately and to prevent his extradition.

THE CALDWELL CASE

IN the January CRISIS, the case was reviewed of Sergeant Edgar C. Caldwell, who had been condemned to die by the Alabama courts and in whose behalf legal proceedings had been instituted by the National Association to secure his removal from the jurisdiction of the State, to the federal courts. An appeal has since been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. On March 4 and March 5, 1920, the case was argued before that Court on Caldwell's behalf by his Alabama counsel, Senator Charles D. Kline, and by the Hon. Henry G. Davis, former United States Attorney of the District of Columbia, and James A. Cobb, counsel for the N. A. A. C. P. The Solicitor General of the United States appeared on behalf of the Federal government, in the position of *amicus curae*, filing a brief asserting the jurisdiction of the United States in the case.

CLEVELAND CONFERENCE PLEDGES

DURING the three months intervening between the publication in the December CRISIS, of the amounts paid in on account of pledges made at the Cleveland Conference, the following additional payments (up to March 15) have been made:

Branches

Philadelphia, Pa.	$200.00
Beaumont, Texas	125.00
Dayton, Ohio	100.00
Toledo, Ohio	100.00
Newark, N. J.	100.00
Gary, Ind.	70.00
Pensacola, Fla.	50.00
Charleston, W. Va.	50.00
Akron, Ohio	40.00
Quincy, Ill.	35.00
Bloomington-Normal, Ill.	26.00
Pueblo, Col.	20.00

Individuals

C. B. Charlton, Beaumont, Texas	$ 50.00
E. G. Covington, Bloomington, Ill.	25.00
Mrs. Butler Wilson, Boston, Mass.	25.00

LYNCHING BEFORE THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

THE shame of lynching has again been written into the record of the Congress of the United States. The House of Representatives has published the record of the hearing before its judiciary committee in Washington, on January 29, 1920, when representatives of the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations speaking for the colored people of the United States, demanded of the federal government that a stop be put to the shame of America—lynching.

The members of the judiciary committee were deeply impressed with what the speakers had to say—and with reason, as the record shows.

Captain Arthur B. Spingarn, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, began with a forceful address as follows: "The greatest blot on American civilization today is its record for lynching, a crime which is unknown in any civilized country of the world other than America, and a crime which has been accompanied by brutalities and excesses not known even in barbarous Mexico or in Turkey during the worst Armenian massacres.

"Here is the greatest cancer, eating at the vitals of American civilization, which makes America sneered at all over the world. Personally, I have myself seen our civilization sneered at in Europe, in South America, in Mexico, and even in Turkey. In Turkey, I heard a lecture delivered by a Turk, and he showed pictures of American lynchings to show that America was not a civilized nation."

The constitutionality of anti-lynching laws came into question at the hearing. Mr. Spingarn disposed of the question as follows:

"The government of this country is very wisely divided into the executive, the judicial, and the legislative body, and it is not for the legislative body to determine, ultimately, whether a bill is constitutional or not. If it is probably constitutional, there is one proper way of finding it out: by putting it up to the body whose business it is to find out whether it is constitutional.—If the law should be passed, let us pass what we think is the best law and, if it is not constitutional, then for Heaven's sake, let us change the Constitution.—We have changed the Constitution three times in the last few years and there is another change pending, which will probably go through.

"If the American people can stop long enough to change the Constitution to decide whether the American people shall drink or not, or whether 6,000,000 people shall vote (Woman Suffrage Amendment), they can at least stop long enough to change the Constitution to say whether 12,000,000 people can live in safety."

Besides Captain Spingarn, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had five other speakers—Archibald H. Grimke, Dr. William H. Wilson, James Weldon Johnson, Neval H. Thomas, and Professor George W. Cook, to represent it, and one ardent sympathizer, Miss Esther Morton Smith, representing the Religious Society of Friends, of Philadelphia, Pa. The National Equal Rights League was represented by its secretary, Mr. William Monroe Trotter.

Mr. Trotter asked that the United States harmonize the practices within the country with the democracy for which the country was said to have gone into the world war. He protested against allowing questions of constitutionality to hinder necessary legislation, and demanded that the best possible bill be framed and passed.

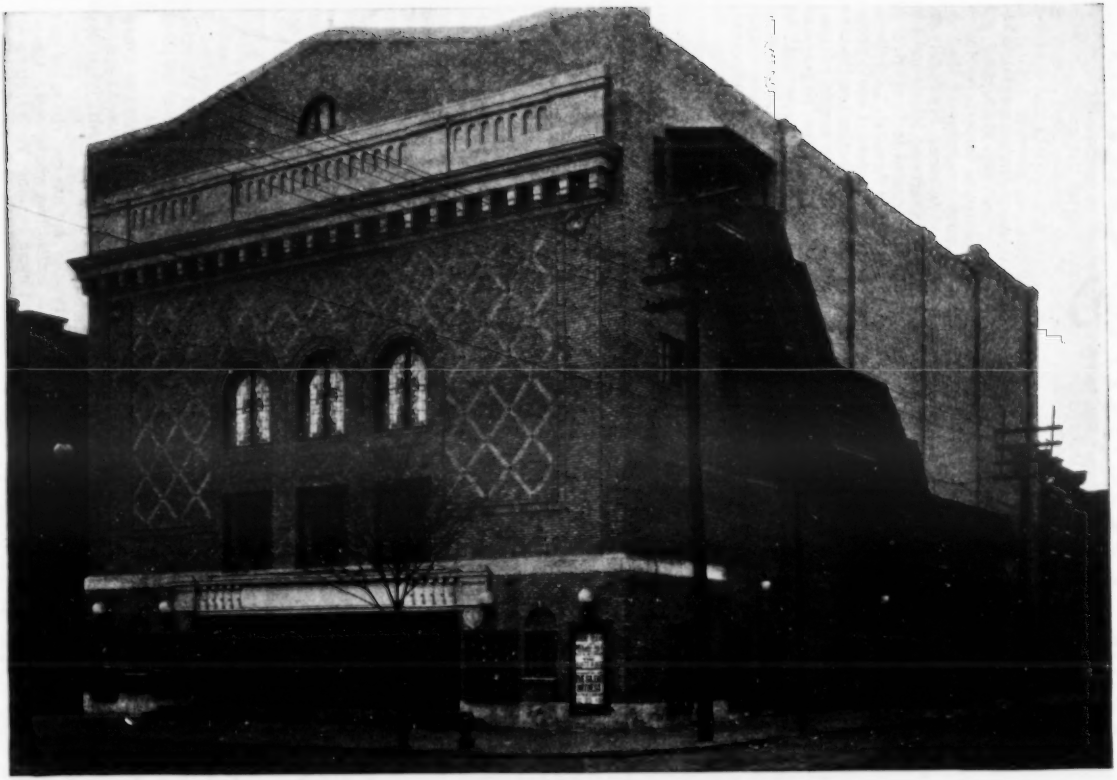
"And then," he said, "when you have that kind of a bill, let it be up to those who want this country to be disgraced by lynchings and want the colored people to be the victims of lynchings, to raise the question as to the constitutionality of such a law."

Dr. William H. Wilson, a member of the District of Columbia Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., drove home the emergency which confronted the national legislature.

"In the final analysis," he said, "government has no reason for being except the protection of the people who constitute it. All things else submerge themselves into that. A government which fails to protect the people who constitute it, to that extent is no government at all."

Professor Cook, last of the speakers for the N. A. A. C. P., told the Congressional Committee that the best way to drive loyalty to their country out of colored people was to allow lynching to continue.

"Some people speak of the unrest of the Negro," said Professor Cook. "The Negro has always been the most quiet man in the United States. There are a few criminals who are among us, naturally, just like the white criminals, but the unrest in this nation is not only with Negroes, and I pray to Almighty God that when the time comes for you to put down unrest in the form of anarchy, that the 12,000,000 of Negroes will have a just cause to be on the side of the United States."



THE COLORED DUNBAR THEATRE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.
Erected by the Dunbar Amusement Corporation, E. C. Brown, president, at a cost of $400,000. It seats 1,600 people and is the prettiest theatre in the city

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

IN the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom, that transfigures you and me.
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free!

Julia Ward Howe.

* * *

Harcourt, Brace and Howe, Inc., have published *Darkwater*, by W. E. B. DuBois.

The Manchester, England, *Guardian* publishes "The Race Problem In the United States", by Herbert G. Seligmann. This same author also writes in the March *Harper's*, on "The Menace of Race Hatred". He says in part:

If the creation of an alien, race-conscious group within the United States, resentful, and justly so, of grave injustice and discrimination, is not to loom as a threat against the progress and continuance of our civilization, there must be some honest attempt to overtake with fact the current mythology about the Negro and about race relations.

Clarence C. White writes in the *Musical Observer*, on "Negro Music, A Contribution to the National Music of America."

* * *

We have received the *Magazine of the Children of the Kingdom, Triangle, Life and Labor, The Foundation, The Music Master*, and a pamphlet, "The First Race Riot Recorded in History".

DARKWATER

COLORED people are constantly being urged to be cheerful. "Avoid pessimism" is the slogan which, being interpreted, means, "Avoid the telling of unpleasant truths". But it is the truth that sets free. In a recent issue of the *New Republic*, excerpts appeared from Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' new book, *Darkwater*, (Harcourt, Brace and Howe, Inc.), setting forth certain plain facts. The statements were frank, the facts were black, the arraignment stern. Yet the result has been a host of letters, showing that some, indeed, have been "set free". We print extracts from two of the most striking:

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It seems that every environmental influence upon me since my birth, and all heredity, were consistent factors, conducive to the most arrogant conviction of the "superiority" of the white race. My family on both sides were southerners, Mississippians at first, and then migrated to Texas during the war—to save their "chattels", I believe. . . . . At the age of fourteen, I could prove by constructions of the Constitution, that the South had a legal right to secede. I conscientiously believed that the Negro was happier and better off in slavery; that he was incapable of being educated, because he was limited in intelligence. I was simply the typical arrogant, superior Southerner. Then I went off to college. I learned to think. Now I see that attitude (my "conscientious convictions") in its true light. I despise it.

In my literary society I attempted, in an oratorical contest, to point out to my fellow whites, the terrible injustice we were inflicting upon a whole race, wholly because of intolerance, of senseless prejudice. As you can easily imagine, I won the last place, —though I had represented my school successfully several times before. I have argued, pleaded, and discussed at great length, this issue—justice to this fellow race, but with little success. My friends considered it an idiosyncrasy—and either became angry or smiled. One of my girl friends said I could not call on her if I retained my friends of color. Never since have I called upon her.

I had begun to feel it fruitless to secure justice in this cause. Then a few days ago I read the excerpts from your book, that were printed in *The New Republic* of February 18. This has given me a new enthusiasm, a greater determination of spirit. I feel confident that I can go back to my community and speak again to my neighbors in behalf of justice; that is, if I do not become a moral coward. Never before have I read such effective presentation of the utter cruelty, the terrible consequences of that senseless prejudice.

Likewise, I am beginning to have a new hope—in the younger generation—I can, at least, talk to them. For myself, I can say that I feel a new freedom. I have no barriers to restrict me in the choice of my friends—no limitations whatsoever. I have never found more genuine, kindly, cultured, and interesting friends than my friends of color. To have known some of them has been a new revelation. Thank God, I am not restricted—I am a free man, not enslaved by irrational, unjust prejudices. . . .

Yesterday a few of my Texas friends gathered to celebrate the independence of

our state from Mexico, which, if you recall, was declared March 2, 1836. Each of us contributed some reading or discussion to the occasion. Upon my turn, I read your article. It was quite a bomb explosion, as all the others had glorified the strides our state had taken towards progress and reform. One of the gentlemen present ejaculated, "My God, why don't they rise up and exterminate us?" So a lively discussion ensued. There were only five present, but I feel that each of them has looked upon the whole situation from a new angle. The hostess, an old southern lady, with all her bundle of prejudices intact, is hopeless. But her daughter, who takes her Ph. D. this year, offers some encouragement. One of the men, too, was impressed.

I tell you this, Mr. DuBois, because I believe it will illustrate the method I hope to use—to show that it will be effective. That is, I want to present the issue to the people, on grounds of justice, expediency, and reasonableness, wholly without bitterness or satire, animadverting only upon the altruistic phases.

I write this to let you know that your works have been of much value and encouragement to me. I hope that this knowledge will give you some little satisfaction, that you will feel from this evidence and the other you receive, that your endeavors have been worthwhile. I look forward eagerly to the publication of the book.

Sincerely,
DAN KELLY,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Harcourt:

I have received a copy of Dr. DuBois' "Darkwater," but I do not know to whom I am indebted for the book. I shall be much obliged if you will let me know.

I have been a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a reader of THE CRISIS, since 1910 and have a profound respect for Doctor DuBois and admiration for the astounding results which he has so far obtained. I am proud to have had an opportunity to help a little in support of his great work. He is indeed "the chief spokesman of the two hundred million men and women of African blood" and the white man is compelled to listen to him whether he likes the talk, or no. One thing is certain: the white man has never been talked to in this way before DuBois' time.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
WM. R. FISHER.

Swiftwater, Pa.

WHO SHALL KEEP THE KEEPERS?

LOUISIANA has an efficient method for bringing recalcitrant jurymen to reason. The San Francisco *Call and Post* says:

Down in Tallulah, Louisiana, a few days ago, the community was prosecuting a Negro for the murder of a young white farmer. But the jury disagreed; one of the twelve couldn't see that the Negro was guilty—not at first. But a mob took the juryman out into the night and whipped him. Then they threw him into a mudhole and brought him back to the courtroom where—freely and willingly, in accordance with his sworn oath, "So help him, God"—he agreed to a verdict of murder in the first degree. Then they ordered the juror to leave town and never to come back.

The wandering juror may find a little stray consolation in Voltaire's *Candide*, written nearly two hundred years ago. Candide was caught and put in the Bulgarian army. One day he decided to take a walk, but he was followed and seized by six stalwarts, who brought him back to camp, where he was told he had two free choices. He could take thirty-two bullets in his brain, or he could run naked down the entire line of the regiment, armed with sticks and stones. He wished to do neither, but finally, by virtue of a splendid quality of free choice implanted in all men, he chose to be whipped.

The Tallulah juror was in no better situation; if he hadn't obeyed the mob, he would probably have dangled from a telegraph pole. But one thing is certain. There is one former juror in the United States, who will never have any great amount of respect for the law. It is a pleasant piece of news for a democracy.

* * *

We are glad to note that they do things differently in Lexington, Ky. The Philadelphia, Pa., *Record* comments as follows on Governor Morrow's stand:

This shows that in at least one state, the mob is not to be allowed to override the orderly processes of the law. . . .

In upholding the majesty of the law, even at a considerable loss of life, Kentucky has set a splendid example to sister states, both North and South, for it must not be forgotten that in the recent past northern communities, notably Chicago, Omaha, and East St. Louis, have shown an even more barbarous spirit than southern mobs. Congratulations are in order to the soldiers and court officials at Lexington, who so fearlessly did their duty.

GOOSE AND GANDER

ANTAGONISTS of Prohibition, point out that the Eighteenth Amendment is just as capable of nullification as the Fifteenth. Why not point out that the same power, which enforces the Eighteenth, should be brought to bear on the Fifteenth? The Pittsburgh, Pa., *Chronicle* argues:

A Democratic contemporary remarks: "No matter what individual views may be

held against prohibition, the fact of the outlawing of the liquor traffic by Federal Constitutional amendment makes the chief concern now one of respect for the law of the land. As long as prohibition remains a part of the fundamental law, obviously, there is no other course for the government and law-abiding citizens than to see that it is enforced. The change was brought about in the manner prescribed by the Constitution and no encouragement should be given to those who would set aside prohibition in an irregular way," etc., etc.

Now if the Democratic press of the country would only give its vigorous support to another amendment to the Federal Constitution, and demand its enforcement without fear or favor, what a pleasant sight it would be. Reference is made to the Fifteenth Amendment, which reads as follows: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation."

* * *

P. E. A. indicates in the New York *Evening Post*, other inconsistencies:

At Madison Square Garden, on the evening of January 28, ex-United States Senator Hardwick (counsel for Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the Soviet Ambassador), of the enlightened State of Georgia, protesting against the Socialist investigation, said: "I think such action is on a par with the burning of witches, and we may expect one along with the other." The State of New York should heed the words of this Democratic ex-Senator. During the period of thirty years, ending in 1918, Georgia led the States of the Union (happily still a Union) with 386 lynchings, and the South totals the modest number of 2,834 persons, colored and white, burned, shot, hung, etc., by mob violence. In this last year, 1919, Georgia lynched twenty-two persons, giving force to Mr. Hardwick's splendid admonition to the Assembly of New York State, in the matter of burnings. (During the last thirty-one years, there have been three lynchings in this state.)

Mr. Hardwick, in his stinging rebuke to the Republicans of our Assembly, (all but two Democrats voted to oust the Socialists) exclaimed: "The right of the average man to vote as he sees fit, is attacked by this autocratic action of the Legislature. But I still believe that the ballot box is the remedy of the free man for his public ills. Don't be discouraged, folks, for the great mass of American people will not permit such a gross injustice as this to be perpetuated."

Has the ex-Senator in mind, the fact that in the South, and in his home state, hundreds of thousands of American free men are refused the ballot and are denied the right of suffrage guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States? Does he raise his voice in angry protest because the Democrats of the entire South now nullify, and have for years nullified, the Fifteenth Amendment? Does he protest because there are hundreds of thousands of citizens of the United States, absolutely unrepresented and without a voice in the government of this country? Does he protest because of the fact that while the solid South is represented on the basis of population, millions of the population are not allowed to register an opinion at the polls?

ZEAL VS. COMMON SENSE

A SUBSCRIBER writes:

I am sending you a prospectus of a book I have written, *The Negro Exodus*. This prospectus was printed in a local white shop in Memphis. I was arrested on account of it, by the States Attorney, Mr. Bates, and a ban has been put on the book.

* * *

We have the author's permission to publish these extracts from the prospectus:

I have learned that a southern white man is your best friend when you talk *to him* instead of talking *about him*. The Negro needs *to talk to* the white people of the South and not go North to *talk about* them.

If the Welfare League wants the Negro in the South to stay, and the Negro in the North to come back—go before the Legislature of Mississippi and have an enactment penalizing a county in which a lynching occurs, have the Negro vote protected at the ballot-box, have Negro teachers better paid and give them better public school accommodations and equipment; break up the peonage system in so many places in the Delta, let a Negro sell his own cotton seed and cotton instead of sending wage hands to haul it out of his cotton house and field to the gin, and putting all of the seed in your seed-house.

Democracy is hypocrisy and mobocracy when it is not governed by law and christianity. Lawlessness is not our sectional, but our national, crime.

* * *

The Raleigh, N. C., *News and Observer* gives another instance of the law's interference with a man's fundamental rights. We read:

Dr. G. W. Locklear, Indian, of Pembroke, Robeson County, must leave the state in order to live with the white woman whom he married in Atlanta, Ga. Locklear was indicted by Solicitor S. B. McLean, on the charge of fornication and adultery, the indictment being brought, upon the grounds that the laws of North Carolina do not permit the intermarriage of races. Locklear pleaded guilty of the charge and prayer for judgment was continued upon payment of the cost, Locklear and his wife to return to the state in which they were married.

PRESIDENT L. E. WILLIAMS, AND BANKING ROOMS OF THE WAGE EARNERS' SAVINGS BANK, SAVANNAH, GA.
This bank has just bought $200,000 worth of real estate in Harlem, New York City.

FAIR PLAY

T. I. FITZPATRICK writes in the Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution:*

Colored people ought to have the same rights in our courthouses as the whites have.

Let all of us white folks resolve to treat the former slaves, and their issue, better than they have been treated. Let's give them better dwellings and better schools. Then they will live with us, and work for us.

This does not mean social equality. They do not ask and do not want it. It would simply be justice.

* * *

The *Constitution*, in an editorial, evidences its own desire for fair play:

A correspondent, a native Georgian, writes to *The Constitution*, from a northern city, where he now resides, asking us to protest against the capital being made by northern critics out of the South's lynching record.

Our correspondent writes—

"There seems to be an organized propaganda up here in the North, to defame our beloved state and the South."

As evidence supporting that conclusion, he sends an article appearing in a recent issue of a well-known periodical, in which the South is mercilessly lambasted, ridiculed, and excoriated because of its record of mob violence and outlawry.

He wants *The Constitution* to "answer" this "base slander."

How are we to do it?

What are we to say?

The record—cold-blooded, uncontrovertible statistics—confront us!

The South leads all the rest of the country, put together, in the number of lynchings that annually take place, and during 1919, there were nearly twice as many lynchings in Georgia as in any two other states, even of the South.

The Constitution would be most happy if this were not so; nothing could please us more than to be able to soundly chastise the South's alleged slanderers, to say that they are maligning us, and then to be able to cite proof to back us up.

But the record is against us, and it cannot be dodged.

The remedy lies in the hands of the people themselves, and nowhere else!

When public sentiment says that there must be no more lynchings, mob law will cease.

Then there will be no more damning lynching statistics to support criticism against the South.

AMERICA'S BLOT

M. LOUIS MAFFERT administers a stinging countercheck in the Paris *Victoire*, to a defender of lynching:

Our esteemed confrère, the Editor of the *Intransigeant*, who has launched so many successful campaigns, has published an article signed "Shamrock", which, under pretence of explaining the attitude of white Americans with respect to their black compatriots, makes a series of statements which flatter our civilization quite as little as they do our conduct.

After explaining that Americans must defend their daughters against the instinctive aggressions of black men, by frightening them off with lynch law, "Shamrock" observes that if we French have had no occasion to complain of cases of rape, which the French staff anticipated in its secret distribution of warnings, it is because the black soldier found from the class of women who refrained from the business of "camp-following" merely to save the good name of the army, a welcome which left him triumphant. He thinks he has made a conquest which has blanched his native blackness.

Much gratitude is due such white women!

The editor of the *Intransigeant* selects, to prove his thesis, black men hardly even in the initial stages of civilization, and he is speaking of a class of colored men which has its exact counterpart among whites. When instinct commands, there is no guaranty of self-restraint among any race.

Granted that there are black brutes, there are just as many and worse among the whites—the boches bear witness to that! But that is no argument, that an act of pure savagery,—which is what lynching really is,—is excusable.

We have had horrible, almost inhuman criminals, but there isn't a single Frenchman who would support their being executed without due process of law. . . .

It is my observation, that black men from America and everywhere else who have had the benefit of an education, are capable of achieving as much distinction as any of us of a paler hue.

I should like to assert, too, that the colored personnel of the American Army is quite as strong intellectually as that of any other army in the world, if, indeed, it is not better. As for Negro troops, we can never admire them enough, and we can never forget those who for one straight week fought without the aid of cannon, and fell where they had stood, rather than retreat.

I am not refusing admiration to white Americans—they merit it in many respects. But we shall never allow ourselves to base justice on etiquette.

Lynch law is enough in itself to dishonor a civilization.

THE N. A. A. C. P.

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is dominated by the most dangerous class of agitators ever brought together in this country, its sessions being marked by gatherings of extremists, whose motive is not so much the welfare of the Negro as the disruption of the friendly relations so long existing

between the whites and the blacks of the South. They are false leaders in every respect and are so recognized by the better and larger class of the colored population in the South, a population which, happily, is quite well safeguarded by an intelligent pulpit and one whose solicitation for the welfare of the race has the active sympathy of the white people as a whole. Well may the Negro leaders in the South give their people protection from contamination with such doctrine as is being preached by this miscalled organization for the advancement of the Negro.—Charlotte *Observer.*

* * *

Organized to fight wrongs against the Negro race, to keep the public informed of injustices perpetrated against colored people and to correct such conditions whenever possible, the Association has been a persistent investigator and a conscientious enemy of wrongdoers. It has promoted anti-lynching conferences and campaigned against the sentiment that tacitly justifies this form of murder. It has secured a Supreme Court decision against the Grandfather Clause, and got the Segregation Ordinance of Louisville, Ky., declared unconstitutional.

It is an Association militant for justice. It seeks political and civil equality, equal justice in the courts, an equitable expenditure of public funds for education, sanitation, health and police protection. These are aims which any fair-minded American should be ready to grant. There is no color line in an honest democracy.—Cleveland *Plaindealer.*

SOUTH AFRICA

A DEPUTATION of colored people has waited upon the Acting Prime Minister of Cape Colony. Their spokesman, Dr. Abdurahman, says, according to the *Cape Times:*

"We regard the Free State," said Dr. Abdurahman, "as nothing better than a Slavery State." There was not a single law there, he continued, which tended to uplift the native; on the contrary, they were framed to keep him down.

The most important part, however, was the franchise. It was regrettable, he thought, after all the services rendered by the colored man, that they should be forgotten. There was no justification whatever, he maintained, for many of their grievances, except on the grounds of sentiment. They had been deprived of their greatest right—that of sending one of their own race to Parliament. and they now claimed that in the Cape Province the time was ripe for full political rights to be restored, which should never have been taken away. He hoped that the Cape had succeeded in convincing the people from the North that there was no justification for taking away that part of the franchise in 1909, when Union took place. It was true that the colored community never exercised that right, because they believed in the justice of the white man.

He would conclude by asking the Acting Prime Minister to do an act of justice. He could assure the Government it was a serious matter, as the time had arrived when the colored people and natives would have to reconsider their position. They did not want an immediate reply, as they felt it was a matter that should be discussed by the Cabinet, when General Botha and General Smuts returned, but they desired to get a reply in person. He would rather never have a reply at all than that it should be unfavorable, because he knew what the consequences would be. The time might come when control of the colored people, natives, and non-Europeans, would be lost, and foolish things would be done which they did not want doing. He could assure the Government that the future good relationship of the colored and white races depended on these unjustifiable grievances being redressed. He would not remind the Acting Prime Minister of the services rendered by the Cape Corps, because they had only done what it was their duty to do. But they could not forget that the people of India, in the early days of the war, and the black men of America, in the later stages, played so important a part.

THE BALLOT

THE great mass of the race in the South do not want the ballot. They are not prepared to exercise it. They are satisfied to do without it if thereby they can go about their daily tasks free from the agitation and disorder which characterized our elections under manhood suffrage.

It is false leadership, therefore, which appeals to the Negro to organize, and urges that through the ballot he can protect himself against wrongs; and least of all should this bad advice be offered in these critical days, on the heels of the war, when the difficult problems of readjustment are before us, and when nothing will so benefit the people of the South, regardless of race, as freedom from political agitation.—New Orleans *States.* [White.]

* * *

We are urging, in a word, fullest cooperation of the Negro vote. . . . . We must register. We must get our young men to pay their poll taxes while it costs little, and we must prevail upon our older men to pay up and qualify, whether it costs little or much. No man who fails or neglects to pay his taxes is worthy of the privileges of citizenship, nor is he capable of bearing his due portion of the citizenship responsibility. We must reach the point in our social and political development where the unqualified will be in contempt.

Whether the obstacles are with the law

or the tax gatherers and registrars who apply it to Negro men, the obstacles must be removed, and we believe the spirit of the people is more determined on this issue today than ever.—Savannah *Tribune*. [Colored.]

ANOTHER CARNEGIE HERO

THE Carnegie Hero Fund Commission sends us an account of the brave act of Milton Carter, a colored man of New Haven, Conn. Mr. Carter, aged twenty-two, died in an attempt to save Arthur J. Truly, aged nineteen, also colored, from drowning at East Haven, Conn., August 7, 1919. Truly got into difficulty in Long Island Sound, near a rock that projected from the shore, and called for help. Carter ran out on the rock to a point near Truly, and as Truly was sinking, Carter dived beside him. The two men rose together, with Carter's back toward Truly. Carter told Truly to grasp him, and Truly seized him about the waist. Both men sank immediately, and were drowned.

A bronze medal has been given to the widow of Mr. Carter and also a death benefit, at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month. This is not to extend, however, beyond a period of five years, or the date of her re-marriage.

* * *

An annoying typographical error occurred in the article, "Dark Heroes of Peace," which appeared in the March CRISIS. The statement that forty-two recipients of the Carnegie medal formed 22.5% of the entire number is obviously an error. It should have read 2.8%.

THE NEGRO PRESS SPEAKS

ON ECONOMICS

Eugene L. C. Davidson writes in the New York *Commoner:*

The Negro has awakened economically.

This awakening is not a fancy nor a theory. It is a fact. A glance at the economic history of the Negro for 1919 must thrill this race of ours that loves, accomplishes, and fights on hope; and must terrorize, as nothing else can, those thinking beings of the other race who stubbornly embrace the dying theory of inferiority. A $200,000 Trust Company in Chicago, a $125,000 Bank in Pittsburg, a Trust Company capitalized at $500.000 in Atlanta, a Million Dollar Steamship Company, a $25.000 Dye Company, a $75,000 Broom Manufacturing Company! What does it all mean? How did the awakening happen and whither is it leading?

Consciously or unconsciously, the Negro is beginning to realize the value of money. Whether or not he knows or understands the school definition of money as a "medium of exchange," he has found from experience that a man with a dollar is not quite so black as the man without; that if he is to spend that dollar, in some mysterious way he changes from a "nigger" to a Negro; that if he knows how to make that dollar work for him, in some still more mysterious way, the white man forgets entirely that there is any difference at all.

* * *

ON AMERICANIZATION

According to William Pickens in the New York *Commoner:*

The American spirit is, first of all, a spirit of liberty. It necessarily involves a spirit of equality and of brotherhood. It is not a shallow matter of getting married and being brothers-in-law. A pure-blooded Mongolian can be "American." A white man can be "American." It is not color, it is a spirit.

We claim, therefore, that the most dreadful need in the country, is to thoroughly Americanize our native-born. We must Americanize the laws and legislatures of the South. If we are ever to Americanize the foreign-born, we must have something to do it with, and that something must be the native product. Those who come to us will tend to become what we are. Have we ever reflected that perhaps our failure to make the immigrant an American, is due first of all to our failure in being American?

It happens to be that the Negro is the most American group in the country, both in ancestry and in point of attitude of mind. His line reaches much further back than that of the average white man of the country. In spirit, he is less arrogant, more liberal and democratic, and believes more sincerely that "all men are born free and equal." He does not believe that he is naturally entitled to more privileges than other breeds of men. That is of the very essence of the spirit that made America. The Negro does not lynch, and does not act by virtue of the mob, except in self-defence against white mobs. He wants the case tried in court. He wants law and order to be supreme—and as a group, he does not ask any artificial advantage of any other group. That is of the essence of America.

* * *

ON THE ELECTION

The Savannah *Tribune* says:

This year we are to elect a President of the United States; and at a time when the incumbent of that lofty position needs to be a man of more than extraordinary qualities and powers, because of the momentous problems with which he will be confronted, problems affecting not only domestic affairs, but the international relationships as well. . . .

Negro delegates, committeemen, and Negro political organizations, are interested in several questions, purely domestic, but all-important to the welfare of fifteen millions of Negroes. They should see to it that a proper settlement or declaration on these questions is written into the platforms of those they are called upon to support. Politically, the Negro vote, particularly in some of the larger cities, amounts to a great deal. It is under these circumstances that leaders must secure what are our rights and what we deserve.

* * *

The Omaha, Nebraska, *Monitor*—

. . . desires to call the attention of our readers, to the importance of registering and voting. Many of our people have recently come from sections of the country where they were not permitted to vote. Naturally, they have become indifferent to the privilege of exercising their rights as electors. We want to make it as plain as we know how, that in Nebraska, every citizen has a right to vote and his vote is counted. But in order to vote, citizens must register. There will soon be announced special registration days, when voters may register in their own precinct or voting district; but it is not necessary to wait for these special days. Go to the election commissioner's office in the court house any week-day, and register. Everybody who wants to vote, must register. Elections this year are tremendously important. Your vote, little as you think about it, may decide who shall be the president for the next four years.

* * *

The article on "Negro History", quoted in this column in the February CRISIS, should have been attributed to the New York *Crusader*.

MISCELLANY

THE Oklahoma City, Okla., *Black Dispatch*, tells this impressive story of instant retribution:

This city, (Chickasha) the county seat of Grady, has been put to severe shame since the day during the war months, that Lieutenant Charles A. Tribbett, a Negro officer, was taken from the train and placed in the county jail, because he refused to leave the Pullman, in which he was riding, on his way to Fort Sill, under Government orders. Tribbett was insulted, his luggage searched, and to cap the climax, was even kangarooed in the jail and a portion of his money taken while in the toils of Grady County officers. He was finally fined and sent out of the town in a Jim-Crow coach, the next morning.

An idea can be gathered as to the class of men who were behind Lieutenant Tribbett's persecution, when it is known that the then County Judge, R. E. Davenport, after being charged with assault and battery, by a young lady in Chickasha, was relieved of his position of honor and is now hauling corn out on a farm in Grady County; Oscar Simpson, who was the County Attorney, has been convicted of bribery in the courts of the state and his case is now before a special court of review. He is teaching school, and debarred from practice. Hodge Bailey, the Sheriff of Grady County, who entered into a humiliating search of the person and effects of the detained colored officer and who led the half mob of thugs who glorified, has been removed from office on a charge of bribery and is now out on a farm at work; the whole police force of Chickasha has been removed since that time, including Chief Ben Phillips, on request of the United States government, which complained of the immoral conditions obtaining in the city of Chickasha, under their rule. The ONLY MAN CONNECTED WITH THE TRIAL OF THE UNFORTUNATE OFFICER, WHO RETAINS HIS GOOD NAME, IS JUDGE ROBERT L. FORTUNE, the Negro attorney who defended Lieutenant Tribbett; the rest of them have been swallowed up in the gulf of darkness, fashioned by their own hands. Truly 'tis a prophetic saying, "As you sow, so shall you reap."

* * *

Editor Leech writes in the Memphis *Press:*

They brought a seventeen-year-old Negro boy into the jailer's office while I was there. He is facing trial for petit larceny. I understand it carries a sentence of from one to five years.

He stole eighty-five cents from a little Negro lad.

For eighty-five cents, he will be locked up in crowded cells, denied his liberty, forced into idleness, and vagrancy—and it's all legal, too. He's only a Negro boy—black as the ace of spades—but he's a boy, a human being, who can either become a hard-working, honest Negro, or a loafing trifler.

Which will a year in jail probably make of him?

* * *

Philip Hale tells of "Boston chivalry" in the Boston *Herald:*

A few nights ago, a lady, arriving after midnight by train at the Back Bay Station, with two traveling bags, saw only one cab for passengers. Two men were getting into it. They looked at her and—got in. The driver, a Negro, seeing the lady's plight, asked her where she wished to go. She answered: "The Chilton Club." He said: "Would you mind, ma'am, sitting up here with me?" The two men inside heard this talk. They did not ask her to share the cab with them; they were not shamed by the Negro's courtesy and solicitude. One said to the other: "I think I'll try the Algonquin Club." They all drove off, the men inside; the lady on the box, sitting next a gentleman.

Men of the Month.

SINCE his return from France, where he was a captain in the A. E. F., Dr. Charles H. Garvin, in Cleveland, Ohio, has been appointed a clinician of the Out-Patient Department of Lakeside Hospital, being the first appointment of a colored physician to a Cleveland Hospital.

Dr. Garvin was born in 1889, at Jacksonville, Fla., where he received his elementary education; he took his academic work at Atlanta University and his professional degree at Howard University, in 1915; he served for one year as interne at Freedmen's Hospital and then as Assistant in Surgery on the Visiting Staff. His medical honors are the Edwin Hiram Reede prize for excellency in physical diagnosis, and the Perry prize in obstetrics. For two terms he served as General President of the *Alpha Phi Alpha* Fraternity and is now General Secretary.

Dr. Garvin was commissioned a First Lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps, June 8, 1917, having the distinction of being the first colored officer commissioned in the Medical Corps and also the first to be sent to the Army Medical School at Washington. He was promoted to a Captaincy, November 6, 1917, and served over-seas as Battalion Surgeon, 367th Infantry (The Buffaloes) and as Commanding Officer, 366th Ambulance Company, 92nd Division.

* * *

MILLIE JANE HENDERSON was born a slave, May, 4, 1842, near Williamsburg, Mo. She belonged to Mr. Dyson, and served as a worker in the house and sometimes in the field, to substitute for a man. Spinning yarn and weaving goods for clothing was her principal work. Five yards of linsey and three of jeans was her task per day, and she was not allowed to do anything for herself until this task was finished. During the last year of the Civil War, she married Mr. Thomas Henderson, a slave, who was hired by Mr. Arnold, about five miles away.

During the first year after freedom, Mr. Henderson farmed for part of a crop, and Mrs. Henderson hired out, receiving as salary, thirty dollars a year. The next three years, they cropped on shares at the Gilbert place, and the year following, they bought a farm of 120 acres in Montgomery County, Mo., where five children were born.

Four children finished the normal course at Lincoln Institute. Later, one was graduated as Bachelor of Philosophy from Drake University, and is now principal of a school at Watonga, Okla; another is principal of a school at Beggs, Okla.; and a third, after completing the medical course at Meharry Medical College, is now practising in Dallas, Texas. One daughter is a teacher in the City Schools of Guthrie Okla., and the other died at thirteen.

The father of these children died in 1909, at the age of sixty-nine years. The mother still lives, and has a farm in Logan County, a home in Langston, and property in Fulton, Mo.

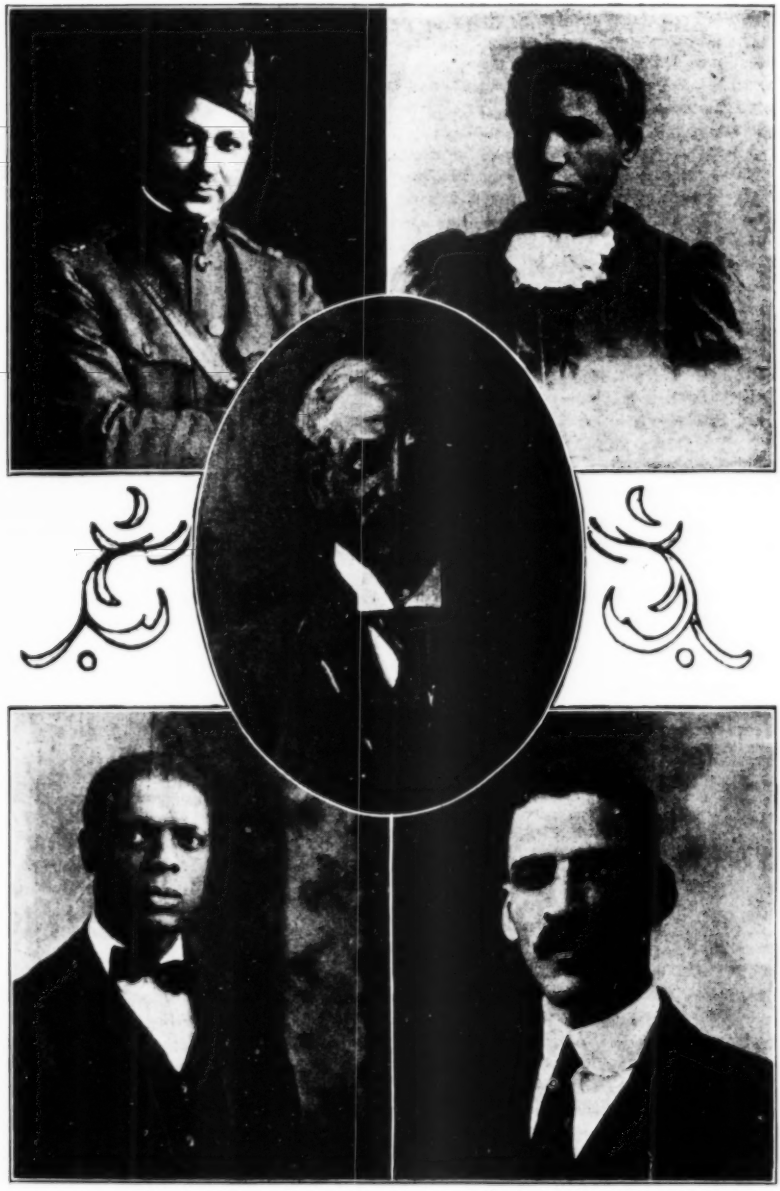
* * *

AT Toronto, Canada, friends have unveiled and placed in the City Hall, a portrait of Alderman Hubbard, a man of Negro descent, in recognition of his many years of service. This is Mr. Hubbard's record: Alderman, 1894-1903, Ward 14; Comptroller, 1904-1907; Alderman, 1913, Ward 1. The painting is the work of W. A. Sherwood. Among those who participated in the unveiling were Mayor Hocken, the Honorable Adam Beck, ex-Comptroller Church, who said of Mr. Hubbard: "He is one of the pillars of public ownership", while the Honorable Mr. Beck summed up Mr. Hubbard's character as that of a "consistent friend and supporter, earnest. and conscientious."

* * *

THE staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was recently made stronger by the addition of William Pickens, who resigned the position of Vice President of Morgan College to become Associate Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

Mr. Pickens was born of slave parents in Anderson County, S. C., January 15, 1881; in 1899 he was graduated from high school in Little Rock, Ark., as valedictorian. As a railroad laborer, he earned money



DR. C. H. GARVIN MRS. M. J. HENDERSON

ALDERMAN WILLIAM P. HUBBARD

WILLIAM PICKENS E. K. JONES

with which to enter Talladega College, from which he was graduated in 1902; he went to work again and earned his tuition to Yale, where in April, 1903, he won the Henry James Ten Eyck Oratorical Prize from his class of three hundred. His scholarship was ranked in Class A, which standing as long as maintained, entitled him to free tuition. In 1904, Mr. Pickens received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale and was elected a member of the *Phi Beta Kappa;* he was also made Philosophical Orator with "honors in all studies."

Mr. Pickens taught ten years at Talladega College and one year at Wiley University. He became Dean of Morgan College in 1915 and Vice-President in 1918. He was a member of the "Niagara Movement", and has been a member of the N. A. A. C. P. since its beginning.

In 1913 Mr. Pickens traveled in Great Britain and continental Europe, and wrote a serial of thirty-seven articles on the arts and sights of the old world. He is author of *The Heir of Slaves,* an autobiography; *The New Negro,* a collection of his addresses and essays, and of numerous pamphlets.

EUGENE KINCKLE JONES is Executive Secretary of the National Urban League. He was born in Richmond, Va., in 1885, being the son of Professor J. E. Jones, of Virginia Union University, and Rosa K. Jones, teacher of music in Hartshorn College. Mr. Jones received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts from Virginia Union University, 1906, and Master of Arts in Social Sciences, Cornell University, 1908; he taught for three years in Louisville, Ky., at the State University and at Central High School; then he became Secretary of the Committee on Urban Conditions among Negroes, in 1911, being associated at first with Dr. George E. Haynes.

The work of the League now embraces activities in 32 cities, employs upwards of 125 workers in national and local offices, and during the year 1920 is expending $220,000, of which amount $40,000 is the budget for the national organization.

Under Mr. Jones' direction, articles are contributed to standard magazines and addresses are made to conferences and public gatherings on the ideals for which the League stands, which are to secure opportunity for the Negro and encourage coöperation between the races.

AN EASTER MESSAGE

CARRIE W. CLIFFORD

NOW quivering to life, all nature thrills
At the approach of that triumphant queen,
Pink-fingered Easter, trailing robes of green
Tunefully o'er the flower-embroidered hills,
Her hair perfumed of myriad daffodils:
Upon her swelling bosom now are seen
The dream-frail lilies with their snowy sheen,
As lightly she o'er-leaps the spring-time rills.
To black folk choked within the deadly grasp
Of racial hate, what message does she bring
Of resurrection and the hope of spring?
Assurance their death-stupor is a mask—
A sleep, with elements potential, rife,
Ready to burst full-flowered into life.

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

THE CHURCH

DELEGATES to the joint meeting of the M. E. Church and the Methodist Church South, have agreed to unite the two churches, under the name of the Methodist Church, with a district devoted to colored membership. This action remains to be ratified by the General Conference. The colored membership is over 300,000.

¶ At St. Louis, Mo., Lane Tabernacle C. M. E. Church has purchased at $30,000 the First United Presbyterian Church, a stone edifice in the exclusive white West End section. Negroes are buying residences in this section. The Rev. H. H. McConnell is pastor.

¶ The Rev. Russell S. Brown has resigned the pastorate of Lincoln Memorial Church, Memphis, Tenn., to become pastor of First Congregational Church, Atlanta, Ga. The Rev. Brown succeeds Dr. H. H. Proctor.

¶ A congregation of the C. M. E. Church has been established in New York City, with the Rev. W. Y. Bells, a former Army Chaplain, as pastor. Property has been purchased at $48,000 and the church named Williams' Institutional Church, in honor of Bishop Williams.

¶ Connected with the work of First Baptist Church in Norfolk, Va., is an Employment Bureau, Information Bureau, Reading-room, Playground, Kindergarten, Day Nursery, Milk Station, and Clinic. The pastor of this church is the Rev. R. H. Bolling.

¶ St. Luke's Methodist Church, Buffalo, N. Y., in a six weeks' rally realized $2,825, for the establishment of a community house for colored girls. The pastor of this church is the Rev. Henry Durham.

¶ More than 200 of the 277 members of St. Michael and All Angels Protestant Episcopal Church, of Philadelphia, left that organization in a body when the Rev. Elliott White, in charge of Episcopal missions, requested the resignation of the Rev. J. DaCosta Harewood. No charges were brought against Father Harewood, but it is generally understood that the post was wanted for a white incumbent. St. Michael's congregation and their priest have, with the permission of the Bishop and Standing Committee of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, started a new church, in an "upper room," at 5219 Market Street, hereafter to be known as the "Church of St. John the Divine."

MUSIC AND ART

TROY P. GORUM, a colored baritone and a pupil of the public school music course, New England Conservatory of Music, has given a public recital in Steinert Hall, Boston. As an encore, he sang a composition by his classmate, Leonard Williams, who was in the audience.

¶ "Sonata Virginianesque," by John Powell, is built upon Negro themes, whose spirit it expresses with much fidelity.

¶ The annual concert of Morehouse College Glee Club and Orchestra has been held, with Kemper Harreld, director. The orchestra rendered "Morehouse College March" by Mr. Harreld.

¶ Otto L. Bohanan has opened a vocal studio in New York City. Mr. Bohanan is a colored pupil of Franz H. Armbruster, of European reputation. Mr. Armbruster personally endorses Mr. Bohanan's art and teaching.

¶ Among paintings exhibited by the Fine Arts Association at the City Library in Des Moines, Iowa, are seven canvasses by Henry O. Tanner, the colored artist.

¶ Meta Warrick Fuller, the colored sculptress, has the honor of having a statuette accepted by the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, the subject of which is Maud Cuney Hare, the author-pianist. The statuette was exhibited at the 115th exhibition of the Academy.

¶ At Los Angeles, Cal., the Pep Comedy Company has been organized by Negroes, with Mme. Sul-Te-Wan, a pioneer colored movie star who has appeared in D. W.

Griffith's productions, as assistant manager. The company will use scenarios by colored authors.

¶ The Music Lovers' Chorus of Baltimore, Md., rendered the oratorio "Elijah," in honor of the African Methodist Episcopal Bishops' Council, at Bethel A. M. E. Church. John Willis Brown was the director, with Ulysses Garrison Chambres at the organ; the soloists were Ruth Lee McAbee, soprano; Carrie Mae Smith, contralto; Clarence Lowery, tenor; Garfield Warren Tarrant, baritone.

¶ Maud Cuney Hare, assisted by William H. Richardson, gave a concert in Steinert Hall, Boston. Philip Hale, the critic, says: "Mrs. Hare talked in an instructive and interesting manner, about the origin and character of the music. She is a fluent speaker, fortunate in her choice of words. Nor is she too didatic in giving information." *Musical America* adds: "The accompaniments to most of the songs were arranged by Mrs. Hare, who is making a special study of our southern music and thereby doing a valuable work in bringing to light these folksongs, which have so far been neglected, but which are well worth knowing for enjoyment as well as for the appreciation of their importance in our national musical development."

¶ At Columbus, Ohio, Negroes have financed and built the Empress Theatre. It has twelve boxes and a $5,000 pipe organ. The owners and managers are Messrs. J. A. Jackson and J. E. Williams.

¶ Creamer and Layton, colored composers in New York City, wrote the lyrics and music of "Three Showers," a comedy presented by the Coburns at the Empire Theatre, Syracuse, New York. It is reported that: "All had cause for gratification at the enthusiastic reception accorded their efforts by a large and enthusiastic audience. The music was especially popular and many of the song numbers were encored a number of times."

¶ Gerald Tyler, a Negro teacher of St. Louis, has written a manuscript song, "Ships That Pass in the Night," of which the Louisville, Ky., *Herald* says: "It is practically a recitative, with almost no piano support; its melody strikingly unusual and very difficult, is far from being enough; the profound inner meaning of the song throbbed in every tone—its longing and tragedy and heart-break held the audience as by a spell, and at its conclusion, a singular thing happened—there was a pause of death-like stillness, and then a sigh, the release of pent up emotion, before the conventional applause. It was a recognition so rarely accorded, that it deserves mention."

INDUSTRY

THE Federated Clubs of colored women in Philadelphia, Pa., have organized a building and loan association. Mrs. James Howard was elected president.

¶ At Seattle, Wash., there has been organized the Attucks Realty and Investment Company, with a capital stock of $100,000 fully paid in. The president is Mr. E. R. James.

¶ The Southern Beauty Products Concern has been established by colored people in Savannah, Ga. It will carry fourteen "Gloria" products, and conduct courses in hair and beauty culture. Among the promoters of this business are Mrs. Simpkins, Mrs. Seabrook, R. A. Harper, J. H. Doyle, A. B. Singfield, Nathan Roberts, Rufus Baker, E. H. Burke, C. H. Haywood, T. McPherson, J. G. Lemon.

¶ At the annual stockholders' meeting of the Tidewater Fair Association of Suffolk, Va., a 10% dividend was declared and the capital stock was increased from $10,000 to $20,000. Mr. J. T. Reid was elected president.

¶ Colored undertakers and business men in the South have organized at Memphis, Tenn., the Tri-State Casket and Coffin Company, a $200,000 project, and have plans for a plant which will employ 150 men. Among those interested in the company are R. R. Church, C. E. Bush, J. C. Martin, Dr. R. A. Williams, Weyman Wilkerson, and John L. Webb; the president and general manager is Mr. T. H. Hayes.

¶ As a result of the lynching of two Negroes at Jacksonville, Fla., by agents of a white insurance company—who accused the Negroes of the murder of an employee—16,000 Negroes have withdrawn their policies and incorporated a $10,000 organization of their own—the People's Industrial Insurance Company.

¶ At Omaha, Neb., Negroes have incorporated the Kaffir Chemical Laboratories, as a $500,000 enterprise. Its preparations include a pyorrhea preventive tooth paste,

a face cream, an antipholgistic compound, a blood antiseptic, a hair tonic, etc. The president is Madree Penn.

¶ The colored real estate firm of Nail and Parker, in New York City, handles over a million dollars a year in rentals and commissions.

¶ Three ex-colored officers of the U. S. Army—J. Williams Clifford, Nathan O. Goodloe, and Charles M. Thompson—are launching a $200,000 colored motion picture corporation at Washington, D. C.

¶ Without previous newspaper announcement or advertising, colored people in Portsmouth, Va., have organized and chartered the Community Savings Bank, with a paid-in capital of $50,000; it has over 500 stockholders. The president of the bank is Mr. J. F. Proctor.

¶ Negroes in Charleston, S. C., have opened their first bank—the Charleston Mutual Savings Bank. It gives interest at 4% and conducts departments in commerce, loans and discounts, and real estate. The president is Mr. E. T. Edwards.

¶ W. F. Cozart, a colored man in Atlantic City, N. J., has been appointed International Organizer of Colored Waiters by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Cozart is author of the "Waiter's Manual."

¶ Scott Bond, the well-known colored farmer of Madison, Ark., has purchased the Captain John Young farm, containing 900 acres, at a price of $145,000.

¶ Hugh M. Burkett, a colored real estate dealer in Baltimore, Md., has bought at auction, a four-story apartment house on a lot 33x85 feet. The price was $34,700.

¶ In Maryland, there has been incorporated the Reisterstown Colored Cemetery Company of Baltimore County, to acquire and develop land for burial lots. Nicholas A Madden, W. H. T. Johnson, and Joshua Dett are the promoters.

¶ The Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc., at Richmond, in its twenty-sixth annual statement, reports as cash balance, December 31, 1919: $145,076; capital and surplus, $429,131. Mr. A. D. Price is President.

¶ Mrs. Xenophon Jones, a colored woman in Checotah, Okla., has 4,800 acres of oil land, with 21 producing wells, and an income of $3,000 per day. Her husband is the son of the late Wiley Jones, a rich and noted Negro.

¶ The Douglass Life Insurance Company is being organized by Negroes in St. Louis, Mo., as a $10,000 project; over 70% of the stock has been subscribed. Among the promoters are J. M. Weil and William H. Mosby.

¶ The Fraternal Savings Bank and Trust Company, a colored business in Memphis, Tenn., has purchased a $50,000 estate for the erection of a modern ten-story office building, to cost $200,000. The deposits of the company are near the $500,000 mark, according to Mr. A. F. Ward, cashier.

¶ At Drewryville, Va., there is a colored farmer, W. B. Turner, and his five sons, who own over 1,000 acres, half of which is under cultivation. Their last peanut crop sold for $13,000; last season they grew 62,000 pounds of cotton.

¶ At Chula, Va., there has been formed by Negroes, the Chula Commercial and Improvement League. Last season colored people bought, through this League, ninety tons of fertilizer at $23.35 per ton, a total of $2,101.50. This fertilizer was worth, outside of the club, $27.75 per ton, or a total of $2,497.50—a difference of $396.

¶ William Solder, a Negro in Boston, Mass., who has perfected his invention of a combination of cooking stove and hot water heater, has become president of the Solder Improved Stove Company, a $500,000 corporation.

¶ The Savannah, Ga., Savings and Real Estate Corporation has commenced work on a $200,000 structure, to comprise a bank, office building, and moving picture theatre, on West Broad Street. The president of the corporation is Walter S. Scott.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

THE Milwaukee Urban League has been included in the Centralized Budget for 1920, a city plan of financing acceptable organizations. The Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association has asked A. B. Nutt, the Milwaukee League's Executive Secretary, to present the work of the Urban League as carried out locally and nationally to its students who are training as public health workers.

¶ The State Department of Child Hygiene has asked William Ashby, of the New Jersey Urban League, to secure competent

graduate nurses who will be used to teach Negro mothers methods of child care in various municipalities of the state. The Newark Board of Health has requested space in the offices of the Urban League, to be used for a clinic. Among the results of the League's industrial efforts during the month of January, was the opening of two new factories to colored women.

¶ The Industrial Department of the East St. Louis Urban League, of which E. Champ Warrick is Executive Secretary, is conducting a co-operative grocery and mercantile store as one of its activities. It promises to be a profitable as well as a useful addition to the community.

¶ The St. Louis Urban League, of which G. W. Buckner is Executive Secretary, has ventured into a new field—that of operating a free dental clinic in a congested Negro district, as a means of health education as well as relieving immediate discomfort. During a drive conducted the first week of December, the colored people alone contributed $2,200 to the support of the League.

¶ For three years, the Auxiliary of the Associated Charities of Charlotte, N. C., affiliated with the National Urban League, has supported a trained social worker for the colored people of that city. Recently, Governor T. H. Bickett, who is much interested in Negro welfare, addressed the organization. Its Board is composed of a splendid group of white and colored citizens.

¶ The Cleveland organization, under William R. Conners, is conducting a community class in foremanship, in response to a growing demand for Negro foremen in industrial plants of Cleveland. It is also conducting a class for social workers, in co-operation with the Training Department of the Associated Charities.

¶ The Boston Urban League's Women's Committee, with Mrs. Clement Morgan, Chairman, is furnishing friendly visitors for the Associated Charities in two districts in Boston.

¶ Dr. John Graham Brooks, Chairman of the Cambridge Urban League, semi-monthly calls together in informal conference a group of representative white and colored men to discuss problems of vital importance to both races. The Women's Department of the League is active in the Associated Charities and in the Cambridge Health Council.

¶ Two large Chicago firms have accepted the welfare program of the Industrial Department of the Chicago Urban League. Through the League, Montgomery, Ward and Company, who employ 600 colored girls as clerks and stenographers, has employed Mrs. Helen Sayre as welfare secretary; the National Maleable Castings Company, which employs 200 colored men, has engaged Lloyd Stone, formerly Boys' Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., as welfare worker.

POLITICS

THE Republican National Committee, with W. H. Hayes, Chairman, has numbered among 171 members of a special advisory committee on politics and platform, five Negroes—Dr. S. A. Furniss of Indianapolis, R. R. Church of Memphis, Roscoe C. Simmons of Kentucky, James Weldon Johnson of New York, and William H. Lewis of Massachusetts.

¶ The Democratic party at Tulsa County, Okla, elected two Negroes—Fred Douglas and E. J. Sadler—as delegates to the State Convention, during February.

¶ The Honorable Charles W. Anderson, in New York City, has for the fourth time been re-elected delegate at large for the Republican State Convention.

¶ At Chicago, Ill., Alderman Jackson has won re-election in the Second Ward, by a 5,133 vote; his white Democratic opponent carried only two precincts, with 700 votes.

WAR

HARRISBURG, a colored village in Baldwin County, Ga., has unveiled a memorial to its soldiers.

¶ At the Military Carnival, a platoon of the colored 24th Infantry from Columbus, N. M., won the cup for infantry drill and was awarded first place.

¶ According to the Negro Year Book, $225,000,000 was contributed by Negroes during the war in Liberty Bonds, Red Cross, and other drives.

¶ In Ohio, the Hamilton County Ex-Service Men's Welfare Committee has invited the colored Earl Stewart Post, number 127, American Legion, to elect a representative to attend their meetings.

GHETTO

LOUIS E. FLEMING has been awarded a verdict of five cents against the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Mr. Fleming charged that transportation was furnished over a river for white passengers, but not for Negroes. The court held that five cents was the transportation fee across the bridge and refused to allow further claim for damage.

¶ Attorney General Frank Roberson of Mississippi, has ruled that Chinese children cannot attend schools with white children.

¶ Colored ministers in Norfolk, Va., recently declined to invite their congregations to a "special" service of the "Billy" Sunday campaign.

¶ At Tampa, Fla., the City Council has recommended the purchase of a park for Negroes; its cost is $10,000.

¶ At Petersburg, Va., mail was delivered two and three times daily in white sections and in colored sections once a day, regardless of the fact that 98% of the Negroes pay taxes on houses and lots. The Negroes protested and now receive mail twice daily.

MEETINGS

FOUR HUNDRED delegates from thirty-three states attended the first annual convention of the Lincoln League of America, and four national characters participated—William H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee; Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois; Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago, and Major General Leonard Wood. Among the subjects discussed were "Should Southern Representation Be Cut Down," "Jim-Crow Cars" and "Lynching." Roscoe C. Simmons presided.

¶ The Old North Carolina State Dental Association has held its first annual convention, at which over 60% of the dentists of North Carolina were enrolled. Dr. C. A. Dunston of Raleigh, N. C., was elected president.

¶ The National Association of Negro Tailors will hold its annual convention in New York City, August 4-6. Mr. R. R. Burt, of New York City, is president of this organization.

¶ At the first Conference of Negro Industrial and Personnel Workers, which was held in Pittsburgh, Pa., forty-seven industrial plants were represented by white and colored delegates and fifty students of Negro industrial problems. A pamphlet of the proceedings of this conference will be printed for distribution.

¶ The first meeting of the Inter-racial Conference of Baltimore, Md., has been held. Dr. Peter Ainslie was chairman. Resolutions were adopted, for the provision of playgrounds, a community house, a parental school for truants, a vocational school, and the appointment of capable colored men as police magistrates.

EDUCATION

THE first colored male teacher to be appointed in the Chicago High Schools is Oscar J. Jordan, who will teach fifth year students. Mr. Jordan is a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Illinois and has taken post-graduate work at the Universities of Michigan and Chicago.

¶ Twelve years ago, seven supervising colored teachers were employed as an experiment in the State of Virginia; sixty-three counties are now employing such teachers and paying one-third of the expense. Seven years ago there were no public county schools for Negroes above the seventh grade; there are now sixteen rural Junior High Schools. However, less than two-thirds of the colored children of school age are in school; the majority of rural colored schools are in one-room buildings; in fifty-five counties, six months or less is the average school term; and fifty-seven per cent of Negro children at school are in first and second grades.

¶ The following salary schedule has been granted colored teachers by the School Board at New Orleans, La.: First year, $70; second year, $75; third year, $80; fourth year, $90; fifth year, $100; sixth year, $110; principals in elementary schools for first year, with graduated increase for five years: Less than 100 pupils, $100; less than 250 pupils and over 100, $110; between 250 and 400, $120; between 400 and 550, $130; between 550 and 800, $140; over 800, $150; the salary of the principal of the high school, $165 per month.

¶ Colored college men in Atlanta, Ga., have established the Eta Chapter of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. Harold H. Thomas was elected as basileus.

¶ Within two weeks, 308 colored illiterates, ranging in age from 18-70, enrolled

at the four public evening schools for adult illiterates in Savannah, Ga.

¶ A school, to cost $20,000 and to be furnished from the Pierre Du Pont Fund, has been approved for colored children at Milford, Del.

¶ A scholarship to the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research has been awarded to Victor Vallon, a graduate with honors of Howard, the University of Pennsylvania, and New York State Medical College. His average for three years at Howard was 98%.

¶ Through the Scotia Scholarship Society in Jersey City, N. J., a "Bath Room Fund" of $2,547 has been raised for Scotia Seminary, at Concord, N. C.

¶ The colored town of Mound Bayou, Miss., has let a contract for a modern school building, to cost $58,000.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN

AT Des Moines, Iowa, in the recent Combined Charity Chest, the colored women's clubs received $5,000 for their work, as their share from the public funds.

¶ At Omaha, Neb., 150 colored women have been employed by an overall factory. So successful has been the experiment, that a similar factory will be opened in Minneapolis.

¶ The club women of Denver, Colo., announce that their Home for Colored Women is free from debt.

¶ At Pueblo, Colo., on Lincoln-Douglass' birthday, the Orphanage tag day netted over $1,000.

¶ The Minnesota State Federation held their annual meeting in February, at Minneapolis.

¶ With delegates from North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and Tennessee, the Southern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs has been formed at Daytona, Fla. Mary McLeod Bethune was elected president.

FRATERNITIES

ST. LUKE'S PENNY SAVINGS BANK at Richmond, Va., has declared a dividend of 5% and reports for December 31, 1919: resources, $433,691; receipts for the year, $2,563,233; gross profits, $21,419; it has $30,090 in Liberty Bonds. Maggie L. Walker was re-elected president.

¶ The Union Brotherhood Benev.lent Association in Savannah, Ga., has bought property costing $10,000, for its home. The organization has over 400 members, not including its branches for women and children. Mr. Bonaparte White is the president.

¶ A three-story brick structure has been purchased by colored Masons in Pittsburgh, Pa., for a temple.

¶ Colored Knights of Pythias at Hot Springs, Ark., are building a bath-house and sanitarium, to cost $135,000.

¶ The Mosaic Templars of America have purchased a $20,000 piece of property in Memphis, Tenn., where a twelve-story steel and concrete structure, costing $500,000, will be erected for the organization. There are 28,000 Templars in Tennessee. During the war, the Templars invested $200,000 in Liberty Bonds.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

COLORED bankers in Virginia, have formed the Virginia Negro Bankers' Association, to acquire and disseminate banking information and promote thrift, industry and business building. William M. Rich, of the Brown Savings and Banking Company, Inc., at Norfolk, Va., was elected president.

¶ At Baltimore, Md., colored physicians and nurses have received appointments for service in the public schools, through Health Commissioner C. Hampson Jones. The physicians will give their services gratis this year; the nurses, however, will be paid $100 a month. The appointees are Doctors W. S. Jackson and Jay G. McKae; the nurses, Mesdames Mary Fernandis, Annie M. Barnes, Florence Bennett, Jessie Smith, Cornelia Weaver, and B. N. Cole.

¶ Sixty-five of Pittsburgh's 786 policemen, are Negroes. Superintendent of Police, R. J. Alderdice, says: "They have been on the force for the past twenty-five years, are given no special beats, and are courteous and perform their duties as well as officers of other races."

¶ The Mayor and City Council at Cordele, Ga., have appointed Dr. W. S. Pace, a Negro, as City Physician for the colored population. Dr. Pace is a graduate of Meharry, 1907.

¶ A piece of property 65x75, costing $10,000, has been purchased for a colored Y. M. C. A. in Savannah, Ga.

¶ The Shorthand Writers' Association of the City of New York, for the first time has admitted Negroes to its contest. Six students of the New York Academy, a colored institution, took the test,—Edith Wilson and Mrs. Kenneth McPherson won Pitman medals with certificates, and Misses E. M. Rae and C. Goglas won certificates of merit.

¶ William Jefferson and Wright Branch, colored letter carriers at Savannah, Ga., have been given clerkships, after a twelve years discontinuance of appointments of colored men to this branch of the post-office service.

¶ Estelle M. Truman, a colored nurse, is employed by Sears, Roebuck & Company in Chicago, Ill. She has direct oversight of 1,400 persons. In Civil Service examination Miss Truman was second on a list of fifty. She is a graduate of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

¶ Eight colored base-ball teams have organized the National Negro Baseball Association. Rube Foster, of Chicago, was elected president.

¶ During the past year, the colored Charity Hospital and Training School for Nurses, at Savannah, Ga., served 902 patients, with a death rate of 6.7%. The institution was established nineteen years ago by the late Dr. C. McKane; Dr. W. C. Blackman is superintendent.

¶ At Baltimore, Md. out of twenty-eight play guilds and story centers, four are for colored children, who, also, have four school play-grounds. Negroes form 15.2 per cent of the population.

¶ At Charlestown, W. Va., $20,000 was raised in a seven-day campaign for the Mattie V. Lee Home for Colored Girls; Dr. H. F. Gamble and C. H. James gave $1,000 each. Among the speakers in the campaign, were Mayor Grant P. Hall, Mrs. Lydia S. Poffenbarger, and Rabbi Israel Bettan.

¶ Verdicts of $250 each have been awarded the Rev. William N. DeBerry, pastor of St. John's Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass.; the Rev. Alex. C. Garner, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.; and the Rev. Charles W. Burton, pastor of the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Church, Chicago, Ill.; against the Livingstone Cafeteria, Detroit, Mich.

¶ Roy D. Fowler of Cleveland, formerly a Lieutenant in the Ninth Ohio Battalion, National Guard, has been appointed Federal Prohibition Agent for the district comprising Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, and Virginia. His salary is $2,400 a year.

¶ The Newport, R. I., Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., which was organized last November, has a membership of over 100. Mr. W. J. Lucas is president.

¶ Colored welfare workers in Atlanta, Ga., have organized the Social Workers' Club, to serve as a clearing house and confidential exchange for the various welfare agencies of the city. Jesse O. Thomas is president.

¶ George Clayton, a colored pharmacist employed by the Liggett Drug Company in New York City, has been placed in charge of a Prescription Department.

¶ The Recreation Center established at East St. Louis, Ill., by the War Work Council of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. is now under the supervision of the local white organization. Esther E. Fulks is in charge of the work.

¶ The Sunbeam Theatre in Los Angeles, Cal., has been fined $200 for discriminating against a Negro,—John H. Bates.

¶ As exercises in current events and classification, the pupils of the colored Howard High School at Wilmington, Del., have made the following survey of the occupations of Negroes in that city: hair culturists, 51; hauling and transfer, 22; contractors, 17; barber shops, 16; restaurants, 11; bootblack parlors, 10; cigar stores, 8; employment agencies, halls, physicians, beauty parlors, and confectionary shops, 7 each; tinsmiths, roofers and stove repairers, caterers, and ice and coal dealers, 6 each; undertakers and grocers, 5 each; bakers, garages, proprietors, junk dealers, pool-rooms, and tailor-shops, 4 each; second-hand clothing dealers, shoe and harnessmakers, photographers, paperhangers, dentists, and cabinet makers, 3 each; auto-trucking, automobile tire repairing and vulcanizing, club houses, drug stores, doll hospitals, fish dealers, hospitals, insurance companies, news dealers, novelty and notion shops, real estate dealers, tobacco factories, upholsterers, 2 each; theatre, settlement house, poultry market, milliner, manufacturer of toilet articles, fruit and produce dealer, chiropodist, community house, blacksmith and livery stable, 1 each.

¶ The grave of John Brown, the abolition-

ist, at North Elba, New York, is included in the sale of 1,200 acres, for lumbering operations.

¶ Tax Collector William B. Harrison reports that Negroes in Georgia returned for taxes during 1919, $54,858,301, as against $47,423,499 during 1918, representing an increase of $7,434,852, or nearly 15%. The value of automobiles owned by Negroes, increased from $946,031 to $1,860,261.

¶ Mr. A. W. Reason, principal of Bartlett High School, St. Joseph, Mo., was elected by the Board of Education to attend the conferences of superintendents and principals at the convention of the National Educational Association, held in Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Reason is the first colored principal to be delegated from Missouri. In the assembly of over 8,000 educators, not more than a dozen were Negroes.

¶ Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky., recently invited a Negro, Professor W. H. Fouse, to address the students on "Race Riots."

¶ The colored Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School in Philadelphia, Pa., of which Dr. N. F. Mossell is in charge, has burned its second mortgage, amounting to $16,000. In less than ten minutes, $2,000 in cash was subscribed toward a Maintenance Fund of $50,000. Mr. John T. Gibson of the Standard Theatre has given $900 to the institution.

¶ At Los Angeles, Cal., Paul R. Williams, a Negro, won first prize, $300, offered by the Los Angeles Pressed Brick Company, for the best design for a house to cost not more than $5,000, including heating, plumbing, electric wiring, and painting. The contest was open to architects in California and Arizona.

¶ Three thousand Negroes in Chicago, Ill., who had signed pledges to support a fight against residential segregation, have held a meeting at the 8th Regiment Armory; over $2,000 was collected to aid the movement. Among the speakers were Dr. Charles E. Bentley, the Rev. John W. Robinson, and M. C. B. Mason, Jr.

PERSONAL

RICHARD W. THOMPSON of Washington, D. C., is dead, at the age of fifty-four. For thirty-seven years he did active service as a colored newspaper correspondent.

¶ Fred R. Scott, 62 West 131st Street, New York City, would like to know the whereabouts of John Pigeon, a friend of his when they were at the Orphan Asylum at 143rd Street and Amsterdam Avenue, New York City.

¶ At Philadelphia, Pa., Daniel M. Baxter has succeeded W. Basil Webb as Messenger to Mayor Moore. Mr. Webb retires, after twenty years' service in the Mayor's office, to devote his time to real estate business.

¶ Professor J. W. Peele, for twelve years assistant principal of the Goldboro, N. C., Colored Graded Schools, is dead.

¶ Ex-fireman Charles H. Brown, a Negro at St. Paul, Minn., is dead. On May 7, 1887, he was appointed to the City Fire Department, where he served continuously for twenty-five years; on June 1, 1912, he was retired on a pension.

¶ The marriage of Miss Caroline Stewart Bond, a graduate of Atlanta University and Radcliffe College, to Captain Aaron Day, Jr, a graduate of the University of Chicago and instructor of chemistry at the Prairie View, Tex., Normal School, is announced.

¶ Dr. George W. Cabaness, a well known colored physician in Washington, D. C., is dead.

FOREIGN

AT Monrovia, January 5, Charles D. B. King was inaugurated President of Liberia, and Samuel A. Ross, Vice President. In connection with the ceremony, the British Government sent its cruiser *Thistle* and the French Government a warship, with Blaise Diagne, Deputy of Senegal at Paris, as special representative of France.

¶ Dr. M. L. Moody, a colored Jamaican, has been appointed Bacteriologist and Lecturer in Biology at the hospital of the University of London, England.

¶ Seven white and seven colored men have been elected to the Legislature at Kingston, Jamaica, B. W. I.

¶ The African Co-operative Corporation, Limited, has been chartered at London, England, with an authorized capital of $486,000. The directors are white and colored business men of London, with a consulting committee in West Africa, composed of Negroes of Sierra Leone, Gold Coast Colony, and Nigeria. The purpose of the company, is to make possible the entrance of the Negro upon the international world of commerce under a co-operative plan.

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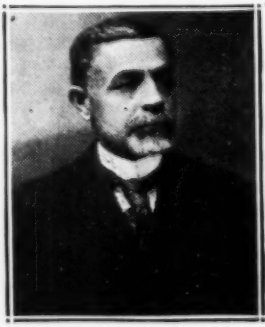

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of

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RECEIPTS	
Jan. 1, 1919—Cash Balance Brought Forward	$102,656.72
Dec. 31, 1919—Annual Income	632,335.15
Gross Receipts for 1919	....$734,991.87
DISBURSEMENTS	
Dec. 31, 1919—Total Disbursed during year (including investments made during year)	$589,914.93
Cash Balance Jan. 1, 1920	$145,076.94
Jan. 1, 1920—Total Assets.	$452,155.36
Jan. 1, 1920—Total Liabilities (including Capital Stock)	53,024.28
Jan. 1, 1920—Surplus Fund	$399,131.08
Total Amount Paid to Policyholders to Dec. 31, 1919	$1,898,764.19

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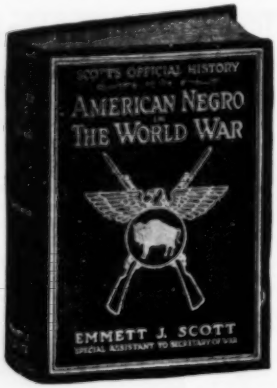

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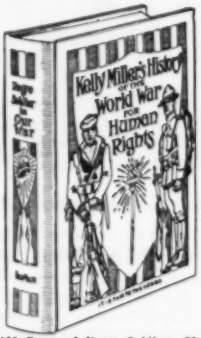

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